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Approximately 1,100 students from about 50 colleges and universities worked in more than 50 New York City agencies for the summer of 1966 in a million dollar program funded by the College Work-Study Program of the Office of Education and by the City, and administered largely by students. The Urban Corps had 3 purposes: to get needed work done; to be an internship for the students; to expose City agencies to fresh ideas. To determine what proportion of the program was a success, investigators visited the agencies, conducted group interviews, and administered questionnaires to approximately 600 interns and their supervisors. A look at a few of the individual interns and their experiences is followed by a composite picture of the interns and their agencies. The report discusses: administration of the program, what kind of people the interns were; what kind of jobs they had; what factors made the job good or bad; the interns who changed; and good and poor agencies. It was found that: exceptional students participated in the program; the Urban Corps was generally a success from the interns' and supervisors' points of view; and factors of satisfaction, effectiveness, and change were highly interrelated. Another successful aspect was the extent to which the program was studied by insiders and outsiders and the way in which findings modified administration of the Urban Corps. (JS)

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BUREAU OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH

RESPONSE TO CHALLENGE:
THE NEW YORK CITY URBAN CORPS

by

George Nash and Julian H. Nixon

May 1967

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Introduction

This is a report of a study of approximately 1,100 students from approximately 50 colleges and universities who worked in more than 50 New York City agencies for the summer of 1966. The million dollar program which was funded by the College Work-Study Program of the Office of Education and by the city was largely student administered. Its administrators felt that it had three goals:

1. To get needed work done
2. To be an Internship for the students
3. To expose City agencies to fresh ideas

We studied this large scale program by visiting the agencies, by group interviews, and by administering questionnaires to approximately 600 Internes and their supervisors. Our tool for reducing a large amount of data to managable proportions was the computer.

The computer doesn't allow us to see the satisfactions and frustratio of specific individuals. Before we introduce our composite picture of Interne and their agencies, let's look at some individual Internes. The picture that will emerge is that for some the experience was excellent and for others it was not so good. The question that we will eventually attempt to answer is what proportion of the whole program was a success and what proportion was not

> Justine Murrow is now doing her first year of graduate work toward her Ph.D. in anthropology. Aside from maintaining her A average at an Ivy League school, she is a member of several groups on campus: a professional club, a political group and a cultural society in which she holds an office. In addition to these things, she sees friends and goes out often.
>
> Her parents are both college graduates. Her father is now self-employed and makes between $7,500 and $10,000 a year. She is Jewish but says she is not religious. She is now living away from home, which she characterizes as somewhat close and understanding, in her own apartment.

Justine was very fortunate in her job. She was working with the Museum of Natural History which was able to provide only clerical jobs to several of its Internes. She, however, was able to see how really fascinating a museum job can be. Her job preparing an exhibit of Plains Indian artifacts was excellently suited to her as she plans to go into anthropological research and college teaching. She likes to do research which is an important part of exhibit preparation, and she is skilled in leather work and other crafts. Her job gave her ample opportunity to be creative and to exercise initiative.

She got along very well with her supervisor (who supervised no other Internes) and made several friendships among both Urban Corps and non-Urban Corps people. She loved working for her agency, which can hardly be called bureaucratic, (a common complaint among other Internes), and had no problems except a very serious one with lateness of pay. Even though museum work is somewhat removed from city government, she said that it did help her to better understand urban problems. Her experience was so satisfactory that she is staying on and doing part-time work during the school year.

Simon Solberger is a 20 year old senior at a city college. He has a B average, and wants, after getting his Ph.D in English, to establish a reputation as a writer and English scholar. He was placed in the Electronic Data Processing Division of the Department of Welfare sorting IBM cards. In his own estimation the job required approximately a fifth grade education; although he admitted that the job, involved with Medicaid, had to be done, Simon felt that he should not have been the one to do it.

While he feels that the Urban Corps is basically a good thing, he had much to say about his contact with the Department of Welfare. He rated the agency as highly bureaucratic and indifferent to clients ("partly due to distance") and to himself. He feels there was no need for summer help in his department and that no attempt was made to give him an interesting or imaginative job. About half the time he had nothing to do. His dissatisfaction is summed up in his answer to the question "What have you liked least and most about your present job?" He replied, "the endless routine and remoteness from welfare activities" and "lunch break."

Simon considered lateness of pay (a near universal complaint) to be one of his most serious problems, as well as lack of communication from the Urban Corps staff, whom he blamed for the poor correlation between interests and jobs. His experience, however, did increase his sympathy for the problems of the mayor, and allowed him to earn money for school.

Simon comes from an average sized, close-knit (though not extraordinarily understanding) Jewish family in one of the boroughs. His mother is a high school graduate, his father not. Their income is between $3,000 and $5,000 a year. He is not at all religious. Most of his high school friends went to college, although few to the same college. Less than half are still friends of his. He still lives at home but had his own apartment this summer.

Simon is alert, idealistic, and involved with people. He follows what is going on in government regularly and has considered seriously the prospect of going into politics on a volunteer basis. He has great faith in humanity and an earnest desire to help. He often gets together with other people to go to movies, concerts, and plays.

Jessica Meyerovitz was very satisfied with her assignment at the Women's House of Detention in Greenwich Village (Department of Correction). She taught English and math to those inmates wishing their high school equivalency diplomas and typing to those wishing secretarial positions upon their release. She felt that she was being useful and at the same time making the most of her educational background. Although her assignment was not directly related to her career plans (hospital speech therapy), it was similar in that both are institutional therapy work. Her greatest complaint, aside from minor dissatisfactions about promptness of pay and agency policies, was the lack of educational materials with which to work.

She apparently got along peacefully with the agency although she characterized it as bureaucratic and closed to new ideas. There was no conflict with her supervisor who had nothing but praise for her. Jessica, for her part, had nothing but praise for the Urban Corps. She was most enthusiastic about her new experiences with people and about the interest she gained in the mission of the Department of Correction.

Jessica is a 20 year old senior with a B- average at a large university in New York City. Because of a physical handicap, her education is financed by the State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. She plans to get her Master's and maybe her Ph.D and then go into hospital work. She is Jewish, somewhat religious. Her father, who immigrated from Hungary, makes between $7,500 and $10,000 a year. She characterizes her home as "somewhat" warm, close, and understanding and is still in close contact with her friends from high school.

Unlike Simon Solberger's, her interest in humanity is on a purely personal level. Whereas he has rather lofty opinions about "mankind", hers are nebulous. Whereas, he is enthusiastic about the Peace Corps, she is not. She doesn't want to reform the world, she wants to work with a few individuals as she did last summer. She is not terribly interested in ideas, but rather with being useful to and involved with people.

Michael Loren, also assigned to the Women's House of Detention, worked for the Diagnostic Department of the Department of Correction. He administered intelligence and personality tests to the inmates for purposes of classification and conducted group therapy sessions under the supervision of the psychiatrists in the clinic. He also did some individual counseling. Each week he met with the psychiatric staff to see films and discuss pertinent psychiatric problems.

He got this job because during the school year he had been doing volunteer work in connection with his studies and the department asked him to stay on during the summer. He got along very well with other people at his agency although he criticized the agency itself as being too bureaucratic. He had minor problems with lateness of pay, lack of communication from his college, and agency policies. He also regretted his lack of an office. Needless to say, he was extremely satisfied with his job which fit in quite well with his plans (he wants to get a degree in Industrial Psychology) and greatly appreciated the trust the agency had in his maturity and responsibility. He felt that Urban Corps ideals were reflected in his job and indicated that he understood more and was interested more in city problems through his experience.

Michael is Jewish, but not at all religious. His parents are both high school graduates; his father is self-employed and earns between $5,000 and $7,500 a year. He is living at home which he characterizes as more loving than understanding. He is now a first year graduate student with a B average; his undergraduate major was psychology.

His extracurricular activities have involved the performing arts, politics and public affairs and he is a member of a professional club. He is also active socially, visiting friends and going out often. He has considered participating in politics on a volunteer basis and doing other kinds of volunteer work, such as the Peace Corps. He plans to be a psychologist and hopes to make a lot of money, excrsize leadership, and work with ideas.

Thomas Sandys is a first year graduate student with an excellent average at an Ivy League school. He is a musician who wants to go into college teaching, but whatever other careers might attract him, he would still compose. Thomas was originally assistant to the systems analyst in the Bureau of Vital Statistics in the Department of Welfare. He did research and was learning the principles of automated information handling. Unforturnately, he was transferred from this job, which he found very interesting, to an extremely dull job which did not measure up to his expectations for the Urban Corps. He wound up operating data processing machines, assisting in the operation of the Medicaid program, and tending, moving, picking up, and delivering data cards. The reason given for the transfer was that people were needed more on his second job.

He worked in a somewhat hostile atmosphere; he felt that he and the agency mutually disliked each other. He thought that the agency was bureaucratic and poorly run, and that the agency disliked the entire hospital care section, including the supervisor, because they were "too bright and efficient" and some of the staff members felt their positions endangered. He liked his supervisor very much and made several other good friends.

Needless to say, Thomas was not enthusiatic about the Urban Corps program as it worked out for him. He felt that his job was not at all appropriate for an Urban Corps Interne because it gave no introduction to the workings of the municipal government. Aside from the routineness of his job, he stressed his disappointment over his remoteness from welfare activities. His time with the Urban Corps had little effect upon his attitude toward the city and its problems.

Thomas was brought up in a Protestant home. His mother is a high school graduate; his father has had some college and is an office worker making between $7,500 and $10,000 a year. He has two brothers and sisters and calls his home environment very close. He has apparently severed himself from his background. At 24, he is now married, not at all religious, and sees very few of his old friends. He is more serious about his studies than his present friends and from what he says in the questionnaire, is quite intellectual. "Though I anticipate that I might employ electronic data processing techniques in my scholarly work, I certainly won't need to operate card machines." "Any well-educated person with a sincere love of thinking can lead a 'happy' married life." "What is a profession? I am an intellectual - I don't have to, and am not terribly interested in, selling my knowledge. Ideas are enough in themselves."

He keeps abreast of what is going on in government but does not see himself as being involved in politics. He thinks the Peace Corps is a good idea but not for him. He sees all good things as arising from an appreciation of ideas. What is important to him is having an opportunity to be original and creative, living and working with ideas, and being free from supervision.

Susan Reshetnick was an extremely dissatisfied Interne filing and pulling the ledger cards of welfare cases, stamping and adding checks, and doing other low-caliber clerical work for the Department of Welfare. She said that the job required less than high school education and that the regular personnel could easily have handled it without her and the other Internes who were doing the same kind of work.

For her the summer was one of almost total frustration: she couldn't work as long as she would have liked to; she didn't make as much money as she expected to; her relations with the Urban Corps office were poor; she was highly over-qualified for her job as well as being intensely bored by it; and her job had no relation whatsoever to her study and career plans. She threatened to quit the program if the Urban Corps staff did not find her a job as a lab assistant.

Fortunately, Susan didn't have any serious conflicts with her supervisor and she did make friends with some of the people she worked with. In spite of her painful experience, however, she did gain an insight into urban problems, especially those of the mayor, and she does think the Urban Corps is a good idea.

Susan is the eldest child in a family of six. Her father was born in Hungary and her mother in Poland. Her father, a college graduate, is a CPA making over $10,000 a year. She is Jewish, very religious, and a member of a religious organization at her school. She is now a sophomore, has a B+ average, and is extremely studious. Her major is chemistry and she wants to be a research assistant or a lab technician, although she admits that she could be tempted by something else. She still lives at home and does not lead a very active social life, going out two or three times a month. She has indicated that she has considered joining the Peace Corps (about whose program she is enthusiastic) or doing volunteer work of some kind. What she is principally interested in is an opportunity to be creative, and to live and work with ideas, and to be free of supervision.

David Shaw worked at the Information Center of the Mayor's Office as a quasi-public relations man. His job, and that of a few other Internes in his office, was to serve as a practical intermediary between the Mayor and the public by answering the telephone and helping the people who came into the office. Most of the inquiries apparently came from people demanding help from the city, frequently in the form of welfare but there were others such as a person who wanted to get a cat off a ledge. There were also habitual callers and cranks.

When asked what academic level was required for the job, David replied that that was irrelevant, but that maturity was needed, first to distingish one kind of caller from another, and second to deal with each in the most appropriate way. He thought that meeting the public was an educational experience, especially if one is interested in people. City Hall was fascinating. He thought the office was open to new ideas, somewhat sympathetic to clients, and fairly well run. Although he had no personal problems with his agency, he was frustrated by city bureaucracy, especially with respect to inter-agency relations. As he came into the program late, he did not experience the long wait for the first pay check that many Internes did, but he felt that he was not paid well enough and he saved less than he expected. He feels that he had a good job with the Urban Corps. Through it he gained a greater understanding of city politics and urban problems. He thinks that the Urban Corps is a good idea and that it accomplished many of its goals.

David comes from a large Catholic family in New York. His father is a physician making over $25,000 a year. Both his parents have done graduate work. He went to a prestigious Catholic prep school before matriculating to an Ivy league university. He is majoring in Greek and Latin which he plans to teach on the secondary or the college level. Last year he pledged a social fraternity which he has now abandonned, and was a member of the varsity fencing team. He belonged then, and still does belong, to the New Left.

Because of severe conflict with his family, David has left home, is supporting himself with a part-time job, and financing his education through government loans.

Gregory Blair was one of the Internes in the Urban Corps pilot project which was run in the spring of 1966. For this test run about 40 students from local colleges were assigned volunteer jobs relating to their school work in various city agencies. At the beginning of the summer he became a supervisor of Neighborhood Youth Corps enrolees in the Department of Hospitals. After a personal complaint to Urban Corps officials, which was backed up by the recommendation of the Department of Hospitals, he was reassigned to a home and hospital for the aged (under the Community Mental Health Board). There he held discussion sessions, provided and supervised entertainment, and encouraged residents to read and to make use of the various recreational facilities. As he had no supervisor, he had a great deal of freedom of action. This responsibility coupled with the close relation to his studies and career plans, made his job a real and valuable Interneship. His only complaints (aside from lateness of pay and those about his first job) were the lack of organization and of sufficient recreational equipment. Otherwise, he was extremely satisfied and feels that his awareness of and interest in the workings of the city (especially his agency) has increased as a result of his summer.

Gregory is an only child of a Negro family now living in New York City. His mother is originally from the West Indies. His father, now dead, was once an officer in the Navy. He has lived in New York less than five years. He comes from a Protestant background and describes himself as somewhat religious.

Gregory is now a junior majoring in psychology with a B+ average at a city college. Last year he participated in campus cultural and performing arts clubs and held offices in a political group and an honor society. He has a deep desire to be of service to humanity which apparently overshadows all other wishes. He plans to go into marriage and family counseling.

What do we know from other similar programs?

Two of the most significant social developments of the last 10 years have been the growth of large scale volunteer programs (such as the Peace Corps) and the "War on Poverty." Each has involved many middle-class Americans in new and potentially challenging experiences. The questions that immediately spring to mind are how effective are these programs and how satisfied with their experiences are the people who have participated. What kind of an effect has their work had on the participants? Surprisingly, we don't have much hard data to answer these questions.

The Peace Corps has done a lot of research on what kind of people join it and who sticks out the two-year term of service.[1] Remarkably little is known about what either the Peace Corps Volunteers or the VISTA Volunteers actually accomplish.

Lenihan's examination of the first 85 VISTA Volunteers in the summer of 1965 showed that many accomplished a lot while others did remarkably little. Some of the Volunteers experienced considerable frustration. Lynch and Maretzki did a major survey of the effect of the Peace Corps program in the Philippines.[3] They interviewed the local residents of communities served by the Volunteers in an attempt to determine what impact the program might have had. They determined two things:

1. "While it is clear that the Volunteers attained the people-to-people goals of the Peace Corps in admirable fashion, and accomplished a number of most important but unintended effects

as well, it is difficult to gauge the accomplishment of project goals. The Volunteers' manifest function was the improvement of English (language) usage. Careful measurement failed to reveal that they had accomplished this."

2. The role of the Peace Corps Volunteers as conceived by those who planned the project did not provide sufficient challenge. Most Volunteers created their own jobs after arriving in their Philippine village.

There have been many studies such as the evaluation of the Encampment for Citizenship done by Hyman, Wright and Hopkins which have shown that concerted human relations programs can change attitudes.[4] There has been little to demonstrate whether or not work situations can be used to change attitudes in a positive fashion. The Peace Corps has not attempted such studies possibly because of the diversity of situations in which Peace Corps Volunteers work.

Writings on volunteer programs in which housewives and college students attempt to tutor or raise the aspirations of ghetto youth are principally concerned with telling how to do it. An excellent example of this is Gayle Janowitz's Helping Hands.[5] When attempts are made to measure the impact of a program,those who are being helped are studied rather than the workers. Our discussions with student leaders involved in tutorial programs indicate that they feel that some of their programs are quite ineffective from both the tutors and tutees' point of view. Unfortunately there have been few empirical studies of these programs to tell us what causes a program to be a success or a failure.

What will this study seek to determine?

In the sketches we have presented of individual Internes, we have seen that for some the summer was a success and for others it was a disappointment. In this study we will attempt to measure the extent to which the Urban Corps was a success by seeking the answers to three questions:

1. What proportion of the Internes were satisfied with their jobs? To answer this question we will have to define job satisfaction.
2. Did the Internes accomplish anything? In an effort to measure their effectiveness, we will turn to their supervisors.
3. In what way did their summer's experience change the Internes?

Although we will not discuss the answers to these three questions at this point, we will say that the answer is not black and white. For many of the Internes the program was a resounding success on all three fronts. To others, it was a source of extreme disappointment. Because the Urban Corps met with both success and failure, it is interesting to study. We should be able to determine what caused some Internes to be satisfied and others to be dissatisfied.

Methodology.

The principal method that we used to learn about the experiences, aspirations, and frustrations of the Internes was a 26 page questionnaire. The Urban Corps staff and approximately 35 Internes helped us to draw up the questionnaire. We conducted group interviews and held a number of individual discussions to find out what the Internes were concerned with and based the questionnaire on this field work. We designed it so that it could be answered by checking multiple choice responses in about 40 minutes.

Because we were worried about getting a high rate of response from the Internes, we pre-selected a 20% random sample. We wrote them and asked them to come to Columbia University to fill out the questionnaire during their working hours. We carefully followed up the sample until we had questionnaires from 83% of them. When we compared the responses from the sample (with the 83% response rate) to the balance of 51% of the Internes who returned their questionnaires, we found that there was little difference between the Internes in the sample who returned the questionnaire and the balance. Those in the sample were slightly less likely to have worked for the entire summer in the Urban Corps and were slightly less likely to have been satisfied with their experience. This report is based on the responses of the 634 Internes (58% of the total) who were slightly more satisfied and who worked for the program slightly longer than the 42% who didn't fill out the questionnaire. (For a comprehensive analysis of the difference between the sample and the balance, turn to Appendix V.)

We sent a questionnaire to the supervisor of each Interne. The two-page supervisor's questionnaire was mailed to the appropriate agency with the notation "To the supervisor of" and the Interne's name and address were provided. We do know that the supervisors of satisfied Internes were more likely to return their questionnaires than those who supervised dissatisfied Internes. Where 44% of the Internes whose supervisors returned questionnaires indicated that they were very satisfied with their assignment, only 34% of the Internes whose supervisors did not return the questionaire indicated that they were very satisfied with their assignment.

In summary, we have information from a representative 58% of the Internes. We have responses from the supervisors of 53% of the Internes and these are slightly biased in favor of satisfied Internes. For 329 Internes we have a questionnaire from both Interne and supervisor. The questionnaires gives us data: on individuals; on organizations - when we aggregate the questionnaire responses from each agency; and on relationships - when we compare the Interne to his supervisor.

In addition to the questionnaire as a source of data, we have the results of group interviews. We visited a number of the agencies in which the Internes worked and the central office that administered the program. An additional source of information are reports on individual agencies written by the Urban Corps Field Staff. In this analysis we have attempted to draw on all this data. Once the computer analysis was completed, we paid another visit to a sample of agencies in an effort to find out what had caused the results to come out as they did.

There are many who attack the questionnaire as a method of analysis. Most of the Internes we talked with who had completed the questionnaire enjoyed the opportunity to spend 40 minutes reviewing their satisfactions and disappointments. Because the Internes themselves played an important part in drawing up the questionnaire, they were asked questions that they could answer. We feel that the responses are honest representations of what the Internes were really thinking.

One Interne returned his questionnaire unanswered after carefully ripping it into hundreds of tiny pieces. He enclosed a letter stating that he objected to having his feelings represented by checks on a sheet of paper which would be reduced to the inhumanity of IBM cards. There was a lot he could tell us, he said, and this was not the way to find out what he was thinking.

We sent the questionnaire-ripper a letter saying that we agreed that questionnaires had shortcomings and were no substitute for personal involvement in the situation. We said that he might have a lot to contribute and that we would be happy to pay him at his Urban Corps salary rate if he would either come to talk to us or put his thoughts down on paper. Although we know a great deal about the 634 Internes who returned completed questionnaires we know almost nothing about the questionnaire-ripper because he didn't answer our letter.

Chapter 1

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROGRAM

A. The history of the Urban Corps.

In the summer of 1965 John V. Lindsay was running for Mayor of New York City. In many ways he projected the same kind of youthful image which had been made so popular by the Kennedys. His energy and his new approaches to urban problems had caught the fancy of many New York voters. On the same ticket as Lindsay, Timothy W. Costello was running for the position of President of the City Council. Costello represented the Liberal Party and was a Professor of Psychology at New York University. In a speech at the City College of New York in July 1965, he observed that "the city and its students have become strangers to each other," and proposed that an "Urban Corps" be formed to provide a system of interneships by which college students in New York could enter into city agencies, learn something about city government, and provide some new ideas for the government itself. Dr. Costello was no novice to the idea of interneship since he himself had at one period served as a psychological interne in the Correction Department of the City of New York.

This idea received favorable notice in the New York press, and when after the election, Dr. Costello, who had been defeated for the position of City Council President, was appointed Deputy Mayor in Charge of Administration, he began to think of implementing the idea which he had suggested the previous summer. In January of 1966 he directed his assistant, Philip Finkelstein, to seek ways in which the program might be put into operation. In the Deputy Mayor's office at that time was a young doctoral fellow from Yale University by the name of Andrew Glassberg. He was in the Deputy Mayor's office as an interne under the program of the National Center for Education in Politics. He was asked by Mr. Finkelstein to work on the program intensively and come up with a plan for implementing it. Glassberg was shortly joined by Michael Goldstein, a second year law student at New York University, who had come to the Deputy Mayor's Office as a volunteer aide.

While casting about for ideas, Glassberg and Goldstein discovered that the Personnel Department of the city was operating a program of part-time student aides from city colleges, and beginning in the fall of 1965, had about 150 people placed in various city agencies. The two planners decided to initiate a volunteer program of interneships with about 40 student volunteers from various community colleges within the city. This would serve to set up guidelines for the broader and more comprehensive program which they were hoping to start in the summer of 1966.

The troublesome question in planning an Urban Corps was the matter of funds. The city was in serious financial trouble and the funds necessary for a broad scale program would obviously not be available from that source. Contacts with foundations and other sources of funds in New York City was not encouraging, and hopes for the Urban Corps were somewhat dashed until the existence of the U. S. Office of Education's College Work-Study program was discovered.

This program was first started under the authorization of Title I-C of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This act, administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was for the benefit of students from low income families who wanted to go to college. It encouraged part-time employment by granting 90% of funds paid to youth for employment which served this purpose. The employing agency, usually the college, paid the other 10%.

This program was brought under the Office of Education by the Higher Education Act of 1965. Emphasis in the program was changed from just poverty youths to all students "in need of earnings from such employment to pursue courses of study." The 1964 mandate for low income qualification became a "preference." The regulations which the Office of Education set forth in implementing the purposes of the act indicated that the program should be used to "promote the use of qualified college students in community action programs... and related health, educational, welfare and recreational activities as well as activities of a similar nature sponsored by public and non-profit private organizations." In addition, the regulations promulgated and the testimony before Congress on the bill stressed benefits not only to students but service to the community as well.

Grasping the possibility of using this program, Glassberg and Goldstein got in touch with the New York Regional Office of the Office of Education, and soon made contact with James Moore, director of the program in Washington. They made a trip to Washington and found the Office of Education authorities enthusiastic about the possibilities of such a use of Work-Study funds. By and large, little use had been made of this money off the college campus and this seemed to Office of Education officials an excellent way to broaden the program in the direction intended by Congress. They believed that the necessary $1,000,000 could be made available from Federal funds for the Urban Corps program.

B. Setting up.

Once it became evident late in April that the Urban Corps was practicable with the use of Federal funds, many details had to be attended to in very short order. First, the matching funds of $100,000 from the city had to be found. They were made available by the Mayor's Office. To help develo Interneships within the various city departments, the Personnel Department which had had experience with a number of part-time programs in city governme became involved. Each city agency and department was urged to develop jobs.

Since Internes came from colleges and funds from the Federal government had to be allotted to individual colleges, their close cooperation was enlisted. As the allotment of Work-Study funds was normally made in December, supplemental applications for funds to support the Urban Corps program had to be made as late as May. This meant that the college directors of financial aid had to be called together and the program explained to them. This was done in a meeting with Deputy Mayor Costello and James Moore of the Office of Education in mid-March. Contracts for the operation of the Urban Corps had to be drawn up with all colleges participating, and publicity had to be developed and circulated to the college campuses in order to notify students of the opportunities available in the Urban Corps.

An office for the Urban Corps was set up, and Michael Goldstein was appointed to head the operation in the Deputy Mayor's office. Andrew Glassberg, who had done much of the early work, finished his interneship and dropped out in May 1966. Two volunteers who had been working in the Mayor's office were brought into the office. Mark Berger of Columbia University and Jane Allen of Barnard College formed the nucleus of the office staff. By mid-April applications began to pile up in the office, and, between the new staff members and the Personnel Department, routines were established for the assignment of Internes to specific jobs in various agencies.

In the pilot project (40 students trying out the Urban Corps program in the spring of 1966) there had been an effort to include an educational component consisting mainly of seminars among the participating community college students. Since the wider Urban Corps program for the summer was to emphasize its educational value to the participating Interne, it was decided that a more comprehensive educational program should be developed.

Dr. Jack Wolkenfeld of Kingsborough Community College, was designated as head of the education project. The sum of $10,000 was allocated by the Twentieth Century Fund. Dr. Wolkenfeld obtained the services of a number of academic colleagues in various city institutions, and laid plans for a series of seminars, two of which would be attended by each of the summer Internes. There were a total of approximately 50 seminars, each addressed by a different speaker. Most were in some way related to the city.

C. Organization of the office.

During May and early June, the new office was flooded both by applications for employment and by job descriptions sent in by individual agencies. Each job description referred to a specific position in one of the city agencies. The volunteer staff, assisted by the Personnel Department, sat down to match individual applications with individual job requests. When the matching had been completed, a form was mailed to each student indicating the position to which he had been assigned and directing him when and where to report for his position. The agency was also notified of the assignments. All together, within a month's time a staff of seven persons processed 2,000 applications and assigned 1,000 students to jobs in 62 different city agencies On June 13, 1966, the vanguard of 1,100 Urban Corps Internes reported to work for their jobs with city agencies.

The administrative office of the Urban Corps housed two separate but coordinate staffs, one headed by Michael B. Goldstein, the Executive Director who was responsible for administration,and the other by Dr. Jack Wolkenfeld who was responsible for the educational program.

The offices were small and crowded, the organization was hurried, the whole program was new and experimental, and the staff was inexperienced. Misunderstanding, confusion, and some friction was inevitable.

To begin with, little money was available from the city for administrative purposes. Even had it been available, experienced office staff could probably not have been obtained in the short period of organization. A decision was made that the best available talent was the students who would be coming into the program; since everything would be new and strange anyway, they would probably be the most adaptable. Left out of consideration was the indispensable skill of an office manager, who could establish and maintain a viable filing system. This basic fault in organization was to have many repercussions in the operation of the program.

The files were used by the Field Staff to locate employees with problems and complaints, they were used by the Educational Staff to locate those to whom invitations to seminars were to be sent, and they were used by the Office Staff in communicating with Urban Corps personnel. The files become confused early as difficulties occurred in all these areas; therefore, the Field Staff did not always know who was and who was not on the job when they were to make site visits. In fact, there never was a complete and accurate list of those employed by the Urban Corps in the summer of 1966. When invitations to the seminars were sent out, nearly one-third were returned as undeliverable. Those in charge of the program were aware of the problems, but there was no time to correct things once the program was underway.

Congratulations are certainly due the administrative staff for the tremendous job done in spite of the handicaps, and the administrative costs (only about one percent of the program) were phenomenally low. But more expertise in simple administrative details would certainly have alleviated some of the problems.

D. The Field Staff.

Like the Office Staff, the Field Staff was recruited from among the Urban Corps Internes. They were usually graduate students selected by Bill Grohmann, head of the Field Staff, to be the eyes and ears of the administration. Their primary function was to act as trouble-shooters. Each was assigned a group of city agencies, and when a complaint either from the agency or from an Interne was received, the Field Staff looked into the situation. While on the site the staff member tried to see as many Internes as possible and to elicit from each opinions about job, his working conditions, and the educational value of his position. The field staff often recommended transfer to more appropriate jobs and even the withdrawal of Internes from some kinds of work.

Ultimately each of the Field Staff was responsible for a survey of the Urban Corps situation in each of the agencies under his purview and for a analysis of the attitudes of the Internes as revealed during his visits. This resulted in a set of reports which constitute one of the most valuable records of the Urban Corps and its imprint on the city and the students.

E. The educational program.

The educational program undertaken by the Urban Corps stemmed from the view that an Interneship had to be an educational as well as a vocationally rewarding experience. Dr. Wolkenfeld used a grant of $9,500 to organize a program of about 50 seminars in three areas:

1. Public administration and management.
2. Social development.
3. Science and technology.

Six or seven of these seminars were held during each week of the Urban Corps program. They were led by city officials, college professors, and private authorities obtained by the educational staff.

In addition to obtaining staff, organizing panels and obtaining meeting places, the Educational Staff sent invitations for each seminar to a selected group of Internes for whom it was felt that the seminar in question would have a particular interest. This enormous job was, as has been seen, complicated by the disorganized condition of the files. Almost one-quarter of the Internes never attended a seminar, though each was supposed to attend at least two. On the whole, those who did attend found them valuable and interesting. Many, however, did not see any relevance to their immediate situations.

Some attempt was made to organize in-service seminars within various city agencies for the Internes working in these units. This attempt w frustrated by the dispersion of Internes even within agencies, and thus was not carried very far.

Other difficulties resulted because Internes often were not notifie in time and agencies sometimes were loathe to release Internes who were doing important work. Many of the groups were too large for meaningful individual participation and became lectures instead of seminars. Among the more successful of the "seminars" were the guided tours.

F. The convocations.

The two meetings most widely attended by the Internes were the opening and closing convocations. The first was held at Columbia University and was addressed by Edward P. Morgan of ABC television. The final convocation was held at Lincoln Center and was more largely social in nature than was the first. Both sessions were addressed by Mayor Lindsay. He advised th students, "If you have any complaints about your general situation, come dow to City Hall and picket us." Delays in pay led the students to do just that.

G. The pay problem.

The most time-consuming and exasperating problem of the Urban Corps operation was that of pay. Ninety percent of each paycheck was to come from the Federal funds allotted to the student's college. Ten percent of each check was to come from city funds, which were to be sent to the college which was to issue the paycheck to the students each week.

This meant that the city agency to which a new student was assigned had to complete two forms: one a student time sheet which, signed by the Interne and supervisor, was to be sent to the Urban Corps office, and from there to the student's college; the second, a city voucher, was sent by the agency to the Department of Personnel of the city, whence it was sent to the Office of the Comptroller of the City for payment of the city's 10% share to the college.

This meant that at least five different agencies were involved in the preparation of each paycheck. If any one agency misplaced or delayed a record, the check was delayed.

Coupled with this cumbersome procedure was the fact that many colleges were not fully informed of the nature of the program, and some had not made applications to the Office of Education for the necessary supplementary funds. Some Internes were employed from colleges which were not participants in the Work-Study program. They were ultimately put directly on the city payroll. Some colleges refused to work with forms other than their own and these had to be specially prepared.

The result of all this was that some students had to wait many weeks before being paid, and a few were not paid until after the program was over. This caused hardship and bad publicity. Although everyone got paid eventually, some colleges had to set up loan funds for Urban Corps Internes in order to tide them over.

H. The Advisory Council.

One body which was useful in helping to straighten out problems was the Advisory Council, which was formed to oversee the general operation of the Urban Corps. Representing both the city and the academic community, its chairman was Philip Finkelstein, Executive Assistant to Deputy Mayor Costello. Members were Dean E. K. Fretwell of the City University of New York, Max Saslow of the Department of Personnel, Alex Stoia of Columbia University, and Robert Sobel of Hofstra University. This group, which met monthly, provided a valuable means of keeping the colleges imformed. It also helped the city to be more conversant with the requirements of academic institutions.

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Chapter 2

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE WERE THE URBAN CORPS INTERNES?

Before we start to tell the story of what actually happened to the eleven hundred Urban Corps Internes, let's look to our questionnaire to get some sort of a feeling of what kind of people there were. If we were asked for a quick description, we would say that the following four terms pretty well tell the story. They were:

1. Capable
2. Ambitious
3. Idealistic
4. Critical

In describing those students who spent the summer of 1966 as Urban Corps Internes, we are fortunate in having a benchmark against which to compare them. In 1961 James Davis of the National Opinion Research Center sent a questionnaire to 35,000 college seniors from 135 colleges. This study sponsored by the National Science Foundation was an attempt to learn about career plans.[1] Although the questionnaire was mailed out five years before our study, it remains the most complete description of college students in the United States. The Urban Corps Internes were asked many of the same questions used by Davis, and this allows us to make comparisons. It is on this basis that we are able to say not only that the Urban Corps Internes were idealistic, but that they were more idealistic than the average college student, as indicated by their answer to a number of questions. (The complete comparison appears as Appendix VI. All of the questionnaire responses are detailed in Appendix I.)

A. They were New Yorkers.

Although the Urban Corps Internes attended a large number of colleges, most were undergraduates or graduate students at universities and colleges in New York City. Two-thirds had lived in the city for "most of their lives." Almost all indicated that New York City was their permanent home address. During the past academic year, two-thirds lived in the home of parents or relatives, and during the summer of 1966 three-quarters lived at home.

One-fifth were going to be graduate students in the fall of 1967, and the balance were evenly divided among the four undergraduate academic years, except that those who were going to be freshmen were under-represented. Almost all were going to be full-time day students. Most were between the ages of 18 and 21, and only a handful were either older than 25 or married.

The Urban Corps Internes were slightly more likely to be men than the national sample of college students and considerably more likely to be Jewish. Two-thirds of the Internes were men, compared to only 60% of all students in the national sample. About half of the Internes were Jewish, while only one-twelfth of the national sample were. Catholics were slightly over-represented compared to the national sample, but the biggest discrepancy was with Protestants. There were only one-quarter as many Internes who were Protestants as there were in the national sample. Although their religious backgrounds differ considerably from the national sample of college students, they are probably typical of college students in New York. Although most of the Urban Corps Internes were white, one in eight was Negro. This means that Negroes were four times as likely to be in the Urban Corps as they were to be represented in the national sample of college students.

B. Most come from modest but middle-class homes, but there are some from disadvantaged backgrounds.

There are three measures usually used to indicate a person's placement in the social structure. These are: level of education, level of occupation, income. When we compare the parents of the Urban Corps Internes with the parents of college seniors from the national sample, we find that most are similar but that a slightly higher proportion of the Urban Corps Internes come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Six percent more of the fathers of the national sample had completed college. Nearly half of the fathers of both groups had not completed high school. Thus at least half of all students were upwardly mobile. Where only one-fifth of the national sample's parents' income was less than $5,000 a year, a third of the Urban Corps Internes' parents earned that little. Where 17% of the sample's parents earned $15,000 a year or more, only 4% of the Internes' parents earned this much. A substantial proportion of the Internes' fathers worked in low-ranking occupations. For example, one-fifth of the fathers were either laborers or service workers.

Despite the fact that many of the Internes came from relatively low-income families, almost all indicated that more than half of their high school friends went to college. What this means is that even the disadvantaged students who were in the Urban Corps attended high school in a social context which prepared them for college.

C. College experiences.

A large proportion of the Urban Corps Internes were good students. While only a third of the national sample of college students indicated that their college grade average was "B" or better, approximately half of the Internes had a "B" average or better. Only a quarter indicated that their average in school last year had been "C+" or lower.

Although a large proportion of them were active in extra-curricular activities in college, the majority had not been fraternity members. Despite the fact that most Internes attended college where there were social fraternities or sororities, the majority did not belong to a social fraternity or sorority. This probably is a reflection of both their seriousness and the somewhat lower than average income of their families. Studies have shown that fraternity members are less studious and more affluent.[2]

Most of the Internes had previously worked and had had financial aid in the form of scholarships or loans while in college. Three-quarters had held a full-time job before their experience in the Urban Corps. Half had worked during the preceding school year and three-quarters had worked during the summer vacation in 1965. Half of those who attended schools where it was possible to get a fellowship or scholarship had held one during the previous academic year, and one-third had had a loan. It is usually necessary to prove financial need to get either a scholarship or a loan. The high proportion of Internes receiving each indicates that a substantial proportion were judged to have financial need.

D. Goals.

The goals of the Internes are easily described. They aim high. Where three-quarters of the seniors in the national sample of college students intended to go to graduate school, nine-tenths of all Urban Corps Internes plan to go on to an advanced degree. In most cases this advanced degree is either a Ph.D., or a medical or law degree.

Compared to the national sample, a considerably smaller proportion of the Urban Corps Internes planned careers in business and in education. However, considerably more than the national sample planned careers in law, medicine, social work and political science or government.

The undergraduate majors of the Urban Corps Internes were light in business and education, and heavy in the social sciences and the humanities. We have broken their undergraduate majors into seven fields, as follows:

F-19

Undergraduate major	Percent of Internes
Social science	36%
Humanities	25
Health professions	11
Physical science	9
Business	8
Education	6
Engineering	5
	100%

A large proportion of the Internes intend to get advanced degrees and enter the more prestigious professions. Where one-third of all college students intend to enter the fields of either business or education, only half as many of the Internes have such intentions. From the questionnaire we find that most of the Internes are favorable about entering a profession, while only a handful want to own a business. There has been considerable discussion of late about the fact that a large proportion of college students look negatively on business as a career. If all college students were similar to New York City's Urban Corps Internes, business leaders would have good reason to worry.

E. What they want out of a career.

At the beginning of this chapter, we said that the Internes were generally quite idealistic. We asked:

C-6 "Which of these characteristics would be important to you in picking a job or career? (Check as many as apply.)"

Job characteristic	Percent of national sample	Percent of Urban Corps Internes	Difference
Opportunities to be original and creative	51%	77%	26%
Living and working in the world of ideas	39	63	24
Making a lot of money	24	46	22
Freedom from supervision in my work	18	40	22
Opportunities to be helpful to others or useful to society	65	78	13
Avoiding a high pressure job that takes too much out of you	16	27	11
A chance to exercise leadership	41	52	11
Opportunity to work with people rather than things	56	66	10
Opportunities for moderate but steady progress rather than the chance of extreme success or failure	33	39	6

We see that three of the first four important differences between the national sample of college students and the Urban Corps Internes revolve around ideas, originality and creativity. The Internes differ not in wanting security, but in wanting to be able to be creative and innovative. Their idealism is tempered, however. Not only do they want to accomplish something and do something for society, it's also important to make a lot of money.

To get another picture of the Internes, we asked then what they thought about the Peace Corps. The question read:

"What is your opinion about the Peace Corps?"

In favor of:	Urban Corps Internes	66%
	National sample	43%

The Internes were much more strongly in favor of the Peace Corps than the national sample. Although the great majority had a positive attitude about the Peace Corps, only one in five were thinking seriously about volunteering.

F. They were liberal and positive.

Their answers to a number of attitude questions indicate that most of the Internes were rather liberal and inclined to action. Three-quarters agreed that "more should be done for the civil rights of minorities." Two-thirds were favorable to the idea of "being active in politics on a volunteer basis." A similar proportion were favorable to "doing some other sort of volunteer work after completing your education."

The fact that they generally viewed things rather positively is attested to by responses to a number of questions:

1. 77% agreed that "I think the New York area is a good place to live."
2. 70% said "Yes" when asked "Have you had a good summer aside from your job?"
3. 87% characterized their home environment as "understanding," and 84% said it was "close."

G. Expections were high.

Because they were young and idealistic, and because the program was new and publicized as an exciting innovation, the Internes expected a lot from the Urban Corps when they applied. We asked:

> "When you applied to the Urban Corps, did you think it would be just a job or did you think it would be something special because you would be an Interne?"

Most indicated that they expected something special. Only a handful thought that it would be just a job.

In publicity releases to their colleges and to the newspapers, the jobs were described as Interneships where the students would get a chance to do something for the city and to see how the city operated. We asked them what kind of work they would like to do. Three of the four most popular types of work involved working with people. These were in order: teaching, working in a poverty program, and working with children other than teaching. A large number also expressed an interest in doing reasearch. This doesn't necessarily involve working with people. Much less popular were typing, clerical work, skilled work, and working with patients in a hospital.

We have seen that the students who applied for the Urban Corps were of higher caliber than the average college student, and that they wanted and had been led to expect something special. By and large, they were liberal and positive. Most were lifelong New Yorkers. About half were Jewish, and a sizable proportion were Negro considering the number of Negroes enrolled in college. Although most of the Internes were from middle-class backgrounds, there were a considerable number whose family incomes were low.

H. They were critical.

At the outset of the chapter we said that the Internes were capable, ambitious, and idealistic. We believe that the responses to the questionnaire have shown that this is so. However, we made one further claim. We said that they were critical. Nothing in our questionnaire bore directly on this point. We will turn instead to the group interviews and to the spontaneous comments written into the margins of the questionnaires which convinced us that it was hard to put anything over on this group of students. We have already described the educational seminars which were to be a substantial part of the program. Let's see how the Internes regarded them:

> One of the Internes, when asked what he thought of the seminars, said that he thought they were scheduled just to get money from the foundations and that they didn't really pertain to the purposes and functions of the Urban Corps.
>
> A senior co-ed who was majoring in political science said of a tour of a Borough President's office, "It was quaint. The highlight was being shown the Borough President's desk."
>
> A first-year graduate student in psychology said of a seminar on the city: "It was not really a seminar as there was no discussion. The group wasn't properly selected and no one in the group was prepared to enter into the discussion. The speaker was unorganized. You can't really have a seminar unless you have a small group who know what they're talking about."
>
> A sophomore biology student said that a talk about the city hospitals failed to come across because the speaker was patronizing.
>
> A young women entering her first year in graduate school in education said that the opening convocation "placed a strong emphasis on your Interneship helping in your future work. This certainly wasn't founded. Although my work was extremely interesting, it was in no way related to my career plans. One of the speakers compared us to Peace Corpsmen breaking new frontiers. All of us who had been exposed to slow, unmoving city bureaucracies realized that this was ridiculous."

It's important to realize that although today's college students may be somewhat limited in their knowledge of how the real world functions, they are bright and alert, and have been exposed to the excesses of television and Cinerama for more than ten years. They have a pretty good idea of what is real and what is press agentry, and a number of them would like to do something to improve their world. They are quick to point out that an "educational seminar" where 50 strangers are crowded together in a small room to hear an expert who talks down to them, is neither a seminar nor educational.

In fairness to those who planned the educational seminars, it should be pointed out that many of the speakers at the seminars were good and that two-thirds of those who did attend a seminar liked it. Among the most popular was a talk on the national economy by David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Board of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Apparently Mr. Rockefeller addressed the Internes in the same fashion that he would have spoken to a group of stock analysts and the Internes appreciated the respect he showed them.

CHAPTER 3

A SUMMARY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

In this chapter we will summarize the findings from the questionnaires filled out by 634 Internes and by the supervisors of 581 Internes. We will break the chapter down into six separate sections:

1. Coming to the job.
2. The job.
3. The work setting.
4. Effectiveness, satisfaction, and change
5. To what extent did the Urban Corps achieve its goals?
6. The beginning of the summer compared to the end.

A. Coming to the job.

The Urban Corps program was not announced until late in the spring of 1966, and most of the Internes heard about it through announcements posted at their college. The second most frequent source of information was friends at the college. Only a fifth of the Internes heard about the Urban Corps from sources outside their college. (Their source of information was the mass media.) This demonstrates the importance of the college aid directors who recruited the students.

We asked when they would have been able to and would have liked to have started work. By and large they wanted to begin early. One-half indicated that they would have liked to have started work by June 6th, and the next largest group indicated the following week. The Urban Corps was rather successful at getting people on the job, as one-half indicated that they were assigned to their first job the week of June 13th or earlier. However, a quarter were not so fortunate, not being assigned to their first job until the week of June 27th or later.

We have mentioned that the Internes expected something special of the Urban Corps. About one-third thought that it would be hard to get into because of high entrance requirements. Furthermore, the majority indicated that they turned down anotner job to work in the Urban Corps. The Internes did not regard the Urban Corps as their only alternative, for almost all said they would have had another job for most of the summer if they hadn't worked in the Urban Corps.

1. Choice or chance in placement

Because of the speed with which the program got under-way, there was little chance to circulate a comprehensive listing of job descriptions. Most of the Internes filed their application and then waited to hear about the job to which they would be assigned. The Urban Corps had previously solicited job descriptions from the various city agencies, and it attempted to match the skills as indicated by college majors and career plans with the job descriptions. Whether or not those running the program felt that the Internes were given a choice of the job to which they were assigned, half the Internes felt they had had no choice in selecting either their agency or their job.

Although the Urban Corps staff had solicited job descriptions from the agencies, the majority of the Internes said they were not given such a description of their first job. The job descriptions turned out not to be very important, however, as only one-half of those who got them said that their actual job was very similar to the description.

2. Agency preparation for the coming of the Internes.

We asked a number of questions to try and determine how well prepared the agency was to receive the Interne and how much the agency did to prepare the Interne for the work he was to do. About half said that their agency had an orientation session for all the Internes in the agency. Only one-quarter felt that they had not had enough preparation. We conclude that most agencies did an adequate job of preparing Internes for their work, but some did not do enough.

One can imagine the impact on an agency when ten new workers show up in a one-week period to begin new jobs. A new worker requires a task assignment, a place to work, the facilities or tools with which to do the job and a supervisor. All of this means a substantial investment of time, resources and energy on the part of the agency employing him. If the agency doesn't feel that there is a chance of the temporary worker doing something productive, this effort is likely to be resented.

B. The job.

In this section we will first describe a number of individual jobs and then we will describe all the jobs on a number of quantitative measures. From the questionnaire, we have the following information about each job from both the Interne and his supervisor:

1) The level of academic preparation required by the assignment.
2) Was the work necessary or was it make-work?
3) Did the assignment allow the Interne to exercise initiative?
4) Did the Interne have enough to do?

From the Internes themselves we have two additional items of information:

1) How much money did they make and how much did they save? How did this compare with what they expected?

2) Did they have complaints and how were they handled?

1. A sampling of Internes' jobs.

The Internes did such a wide variety of jobs that it's really difficult to characterize them. From our group interviews and our visits to agencies, we will describe a few of the jobs in detail:

> One graduate student, a girl majoring in education, worked on selection of sites for vest pocket parks. She was assigned a driver and a photographer, and her job was both important and interesting. She apparently did a good job and the city would have had an excellent bargain even if it had paid her full salary.
>
> A group of Internes, working in the Department of Correction's Women's House of Detention, taught the inmates. Their work was challenging and everyone agreed they did an outstanding job. With the help of the Internes, the inmates started their own newspaper.
>
> A college junior majoring in political science described his work as follows: "I'm teaching retarded adults. They are over 17 in chronological age. Their mental age is another story. We were sent into individual classes and given quite a bit of responsibility there. As an assistant, I took over classes for part of a day occasionally. I also did individual tutoring. It was a great experience, really, because it was a teaching experience."

A large number of the jobs were challenging and high level. Many were undemanding and boring:

> A college sophomore majoring in biology was assigned to work in the entymology section of a museum. This promised to fit in well with his career plans, and at the beginning he thought it was just what he wanted. However, he spent the summer cleaning glass cases. Although he worked hard and put in a full seven hour day, he felt that a person with a grade school education could perfectly well do the work. He was one of several Internes working in that section, and he was the only one with a bad job. He thinks he was assigned to the cleaning detail when he accidentally disarranged some drawers of insects in his first week on the job.
>
> A number of Internes in the Department of Highways were assigned to go through the old records stored to determine which should be kept and which should be destroyed. Although the department felt

that this was necessary work, the Internes didn't like it and a number asked to be reassigned.

In the Department of Welfare a number of Internes who had hoped to use their social science training were assigned to routine jobs in the data processing section. Some wrote numbers on files and others carried IBM cards from one location to another. Most indicated great dissatisfaction with the work. They had hoped to work with people.

An Interne was assigned as the executive assistant to one of the top ranking men in his department. The Interne complained that he rarely worked more than two hours a day and that the small agency had twice as many Internes as it needed. The Interne felt that his supervisor didn't give him really challenging work to do, because as a temporary employee it wasn't worth investing too much time and effort in his training.

One Interne who was going to be a college freshman in the fall distributed the mail in his department. This took half an hour of his time twice a day. The rest of the day he sat at his desk and read pocket books and the newspaper. He wasn't putting anything over on anyone, however, because his supervisor worked in the same room. When we asked the Interne why neither he nor his supervisor had been able to think of anything for him to do, he didn't know. The one thing the Interne did know was that the job was very boring and the day passed extremely slowly.

Now that we have a picture of a number of jobs, let us turn to our questionaire responses for a more precise description.

2. The academic level required for the job.

Because of the great variety of types of work and the large number of different settings in which work was done, we did not attempt to classify the types of jobs held by the Internes. We tried instead to get at two different dimensions of the work: the academic level required to do it, and whether or not it really had to be done. We asked both Internes and supervisors:

"What academic level would you say is required for the job?"

Academic level of job	Per cent of Internes	Per cent of supervisors
Less than high school	20%	2%
High school graduate	29	20
Some college	28	53
College graduate	7	14
Education beyond the BA	7	5
It's hard to say	9	6

From this we see that only half of the Internes thought they were doing work which demanded a college education and a fifth thought that the level of the work was very low. The Internes' supervisors evaluated the work more highly. The supervisors were nearly twice as likely to say that at least some college was required to do the job.

When we consider just those cases where both the Interne and his supervisor were willing to estimate the academic level required, we see that there was considerable agreement on the jobs that the Internes estimated to require at least some college. In fact, the Internes and their supervisors agreed that half the jobs required an academic level of at least some college. Of the jobs that the Internes estimated requiring less educational training, there was considerably less agreement. For one-third of the jobs Internes felt college training was not needed, but the supervisors felt that such training was required. On one fifth of the jobs, both Internes and their supervisors agreed that a high school graduate or less could do the job.

TABLE 3.1

SUPERVISORS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN INTERNES TO FEEL A HIGH LEVEL OF ACADEMIC PREPARATION IS REQUIRED FOR A PARTICULAR JOB

A-3 Internes' rating of academic level required of job	A-6 Supervisors' rating of academic level required of job: High school graduate or less (23%)	A-6 Supervisors' rating of academic level required of job: Some college or more (77%)
High school graduate or less (50%)	20%	30%
Some college or more (50%)	3	47

100% = Total

Reads: Of the jobs where we had a rating by both the Interne and his supervisor, both agreed that the job required academic preparation of some college or more in 47% of the cases.

3. Was it make-work?

Another important dimension of the work was whether or not it was work that needed to be done. We asked the Internes:

> "Do you think the job you are now doing really needs to be done or is it a 'make work' job?"

Only one out of ten felt that their work was "make work." The rest felt that they were doing something that needed to be done.

Here again, we are fortunate in having two opinions; that of the Interne and that of his supervisor. We gave the supervisors a long battery of statements and asked them to indicate whether they "strongly agreed," "moderately agreed," "moderately disagreed," or "strongly disagreed." Since the majority strongly agreed with each of the statements, we have dichotomized the responses into agree (the former strongly agree) and other. The supervisors shared the Internes' opinions as eight out of ten agreed, "The Interne's job is one that really needs to be done."

Not only did the agencies manage to find work for the Urban Corps Internes that had to be done, but most of them apparently assigned the Internes to jobs that would be carried on on a year round basis. We asked:

> "Do you expect the job you are doing will be carried on after you leave?"

Two-thirds of the Internes and the majority of the supervisors felt that the work the Internes were currently doing would be carried on.

4. Initiative.

We felt that another important dimension of the job was whether or not it was routine and cut and dried, or one which gave the Interne a chance to exercise initiative and make suggestions. Two-thirds of the Internes said "yes" when we asked them:

> "Have you ever made any suggestions to anyone in authority in your agency?"

And an equally high proportion checked "yes" when we asked them:

> "Do you have a chance to exercise any initiative on your job?"

When it came to reporting whether or not they had a chance to make suggestions or show initiative, the Internes were apparently being rather objective, because their supervisors agreed with them. The majority of the supervisors agreed that the Interne reporting to them had shown initiative, but one out of eight of the supervisors said that the Interne had had a chance to show initiative but had not done so. There was considerable agreement as to which Internes had and had not shown initiative. When the Internes reported that they had shown initiative, most of their supervisors agreed that they had shown initiative. Only a small number of the Internes said that they had not shown initiative, and most of their supervisors went along with this evaluation.

TABLE 3.2

INTERNES AND THEIR SUPERVISORS AGREED
AS TO WHO HAD SHOWN INITIATIVE

B-7 Interne said he showed initiative	B-3g Interne's supervisor agreed that the Interne had shown initiative	
	Agreed (64%)	Did not agree (36%)
Yes (79%)	56%	23%
No (21%)	9	12
	100% = Total	

Reads: On the jobs where both the Interne and his supervisor replied as to whether he had shown initiative, there was agreement that he had in the majority (56%) of the cases.

We don't know what sort of suggestions the Internes made or in what context these were made. We do know that one third of the Internes said that they attended staff meetings. These meetings may have given them a chance to make suggestions.

5. The problem of having nothing to do.

In our early field work, we found out that some of the Internes had nothing to do for a considerable portion of their time. This was certainly not universal. Many of the Internes said that they were busy all the time and some told us that they took work home at night. We asked:

> A-7 "While at work, how many hours per week do you actually have little or nothing to do?"

Time with nothing to do	Percent
Almost none, I'm busy all the time	32%
1 - 4 hours per week	28
5 - 9 hours per week	18
10 - 14 hours per week	10
15 - 19 hours per week	6
20 hours or more per week, I have had little or nothing to do	4

The majority of the Internes were either busy all the time or all but one to four hours. They were being fully utilized. It's probably not too bad that on a summer job one might average five to nine hours each week with little or nothing to do. Having little or nothing to do for ten or more hours a week, however, as one-fifth of the Internes indicated to be their situation, is a problem.

The problem of having nothing to do is the subject of much discussion in texts on industrial sociology. In most union shops there is a quota and this is filled. People tend to look busy even when not occupied, so its difficult to determine how much time they have little to do. Lenihan's study of VISTA Volunteers showed this was a problem.[1] A recent article by Sigel in The Reporter mentioned that many Peace Corps Volunteers in the Ivory Coast work only 24 hours per week.[2] The agencies had invested relatively little in the Internes (paying only 10% of their salaries) so their not being busy did not cost the agency money out of pocket. Further, there were no sanctions that could be applied as it was only a summer job and the Internes were not looking for promotion. Idleness can be demoralizing. For a description of one Interne's frustration at having nothing to do, turn to Appendix VII.

We wondered if the supervisors were aware that some Internes were underutilized. When we cross-tabulate the number of hours that the Interne said he had nothing to do with whether or not the supervisor disagreed with the statement: "The Interne has plenty to do most of the time," we find that there were a considerable number of supervisors who were misled. Almost all of the supervisors of Internes who were busy all the time agreed that their Interne had plenty to do most of the time. Forty per cent of the supervisors whose Internes had nothing to do 10 hours or more per week correctly perceived this and did not think that the Interne had plenty to do most of the time. However, 60% were wrong and agreed that their Internes were busy when they were not. They were either unaware of the problem that existed or attempting to gloss it over.

TABLE 3.3

A NUMBER OF SUPERVISORS OF UNDER-UTILIZED INTERNES SEEMED UNAWARE OF THE PROBLEM

A-7 While at work how many hours per week did the Interne say he had nothing to do	A-3f Supervisor agrees that the Interne has plenty to do most of the time		
	Yes	No	
None (33%)	88%	12%	
1 - 9 (50%)	71	29	
10 or more (17%)	60	40	
Total all Internes	75%	25%	100%

Reads: The majority (60%) of the supervisors of Internes who reported that they had little or nothing to do ten hours per week or more misperceived this and strongly agreed that the Interne had plenty to do most of the time.

In summary, we have seen that the Internes performed a wide variety of jobs which we have characterized on the following four dimensions:

1. The large majority of the Internes felt that at least a high school education was required to do the work.

2. Most felt that the work needed to be done and would be carried on after they left.
3. Most showed initiative and made suggestions.
4. Although the majority were fully occupied, one-fifth had little or nothing to do a substantial portion of their time.

We have some validation of the Internes' evaluations from the questionnaires filled out by their supervisors. Most of the supervisors saw things pretty much the same way as the Internes did. Not all those whose Internes had little or nothing to do a substantial portion of the time admitted or were aware of it. A minority of supervisors also overestimated the education required for the job and the amount of initiative shown by Internes.

6. Money made and saved.

In the first chapter the delay in pay was discussed. The severity of the delay can be seen from the fact that half the Internes did not get paid until the week of July 18th (six weeks after they started work) or later. Only 6% of them got paid at all in the month of June. The lack of funds caused so much concern that we found it was impossible to hold a conversation with an Interne without this being brought up. In any job the period prior to receiving one's first pay is a difficult time. The fact that this period lasted more than six weeks for Urban Corps Internes caused many considerable difficulty.

Many of the Internes worked a shorter week than they would have desired. Most worked 30 to 34 hours a week and only about a quarter worked longer. Half indicated that they would have liked to have worked 40 or more hours per week, while only 15% said they wanted to work 34 hours a week or less -- the actual Urban Corps work week.

The principal reason the Internes wanted to work longer was because they wanted to make more money. Their rate of pay depended on their year in school. Approximately half made $2.00 an hour while the rest made either $2.50 or $3.00. Three-quarters felt that their rate of pay was "about right for the work you have been doing in your present job."

Although the Internes weren't disappointed in their rate of pay, they did want to work both a longer work week and more weeks during the summer. Two-thirds indicated that they wanted to work 12 weeks or longer, but only one-third worked this long. One-quarter of the Internes indicated that they worked nine weeks or less, while only 5% wanted to work this short a time.

The average Urban Corps Interne earned between $600 and $800. Only 15% earned $1,000 or more. Although the largest proportion said that they would make about what theyexpected, one-third said that they would make less than they expected.

Despite the fact that the purpose of the summer program was to allow the students to earn money to help pay the following year's college costs, the Internes indicated that they expected to save relatively little money. Half indicated that they expected to save less than $400, and only 15% felt they would save $600 or more.

7. Complaints and how they were handled.

At the opening convocation of the Urban Corps (held two weeks after the Internes started to work) a questionnaire was administered which asked them to indicate what they thought of their jobs. Each member of the Urban Corps Field Staff was assigned to visit several agencies. Before he went to the agency he looked over the questionnaires filled out by the Internes in that agency and he made an attempt to visit those who indicated they were dissatisfied. This resulted in some improvement of the jobs and probably caused the agencies themselves to reassess the working conditions where there were problems.

In the questionnaire we asked the Internes if they had complained either to anyone in authority in their agency or to anyone on the Urban Corps staff about any aspect of the job. One-third had complained to someone in their agency. One-quarter had complained to the Urban Corps staff. Although the Urban Corps Field Staff was fairly small (with only about ten workers) the returns from our questionnaire indicate that they managed to visit half of the Internes working in their agencies. The Internes they visited tended to be those who were most dissatisfied with their work.

The agencies generally seemed willing to attempt to redress complaints, as half of those who indicated that they had complained to the agency said that their complaints were resolved. Those who complained to the Urban Corps headquarters had slightly less success, as only one-third indicated that their problems were solved as a result of complaining to Urban Corps headquarters. These may have been the more serious problems.

Eight out of ten of the Internes worked at one job for the entire summer. The balance held only two jobs. Only one-third of those who switched jobs moved from one agency to another. Most of those who switched did so because they were not happy with their first job.

C. The work setting.

From the time of the Hawthorne studies (which began in 1927), sociologists have focused on group processes which evolve in the work setting.[3] These Internes were outsiders coming into established organizations. We expected that there would be strains. Consequently we asked a number of questions in an attempt to describe the context within which the Interne worked.

Our information on the work setting covers a number of separate issues:

1) Relations with co-workers. How many were there? Were they friendly? Was the work done by the Interne similar to that done by others?
2) Identification. Did the Internes regard themselves as members of their agencies?
3) Characterizing the agencies. What did the Internes really think of their agencies?

1. Relations with co-workers.

Most of the Internes worked in situations where there were other Urban Corps Internes as well as regular agency personnel. Relations with co-workers are usually an important determinant of whether or not a person is satisfied with his job. We felt that there might well be hostility between the college students and the regular old-line agency personnel. Although there were a few problems because some Internes were paid more than regular city workers, relations with co-workers were generally quite friendly.

Most of the Internes worked in a setting where there were between one and six other Internes with whom they might come into contact in the course of the day. The balance was divided between those who said that there were no other Internes close by and those who worked near seven or more Internes.

In many cases a number of Internes in one agency did the same sort of work. We asked:

> "Are there other Urban Corps Internes in your agency who do pretty much the same kind of work you do?"

Most said "yes." Only one-third had really different jobs.

Then we asked:

> "How many non-Urban Corps people are there in your office or close by in your agency (with whom you might come into contact in the course of the day)?"

Two-thirds indicated that there were seven or more non-Urban Corps people working with them. The nature of city administration is such that it is done in large offices. The majority of our Internes worked in offices surrounded by a large number of regular city employees and a scattering of other Internes.

We asked a series of questions in an attempt to uncover possible hostility toward the Internes on the part of their co-workers. We knew that at least some of the Internes had encountered unfriendliness, because one of the Internes mentioned in a group interview that he had overheard a secretary in his agency talking about "those Urban Corps idiots."

The questionnaire responses indicate that there was little unfriendliness. Relations with co-workers appear to have been cordial.

We asked the Internes:

> "Would you say your non-Urban Corps co-workers are: friendly to you, unfriendly to you, neither one way or the other?"

Almost all said their co-workers were friendly. Only 1% said that they were unfriendly.

We asked:

> "Has the Urban Corps led to any new friendships for you?"

Only a handful said "no." One-half said they had formed friendships with both Internes and their agency co-workers. The rest had become friends with either Internes or agency personnel, but not both. In another part of the questionnaire, we asked:

> "Have you become friendly with any of the non-Urban Corps workers in your agency?"

This kind of a relationship would presumably be slightly less affect-laden than that indicated by a "new friendship." Only a tiny minority indicated that they had not become friendly with any of their agency co-workers.

2. Identification.

Because most Internes worked in one hospitable agency all summer and because there were relatively few communications from the Urban Corps (partially due to the ineffective filing system of the central office), the largest number of the Internes regarded themselves as working for their agency. We asked the Internes:

> C-9 "If you were to meet a friend whom you had not seen since May, what would you tell him you were doing this summer?"

Responses of those checking only one category	Per cent
Working for my agency	43%
Working as an Urban Corps Interne	37
Working for the City of New York	20

For many of the Internes this identification with the agency was quite complete and very important. We asked one Interne who was going to be a freshman at a Catholic university in the city, "Are you treated any differently from a full-time worker?" He replied:

> "In that library I'm actually treated like one...well...of the people there, one has been there four years, another twenty, another six. I'm treated like one of them.... We're very understaffed and I'm busy all the time. We could use twice as many Urban Corps workers."

3. Characterizing the agency.

Despite the fact that the Internes were friendly with their co-workers and that many of them identified with their agencies, they did not express completely positive feelings toward their agencies. We asked the Internes to describe their agencies on four different dimensions. The question read:

B-20 "How would you characterize your agency with regard to each of the following":

a) Open to new ideas?

25%	Very open to new ideas
37	Somewhat open to new ideas
18	Not at all open to new ideas
20	It's hard to say

b) Bureaucratic?

35%	Highly bureaucratic
35	Somewhat bureaucratic
13	Not bureaucratic at all
17	It's hard to say

c) Sympathetic toward clients?

29%	Very sympathetic toward clients
31	Somewhat sympathetic
9	Indifferent to clients
20	Not applicable -- no clients
11	It's hard to say

d) Well run?

22%	Very well run
51	Fairly well run
19	Poorly run
8	It's hard to say

Although the Internes were generally favorable toward their agencies, there was a substantial minority critical of the agency in response to each of these questions. Approximately one in five said that the. agency was poorly run and a similar proportion characterized the agency as not at all open to new ideas. Very few of the Internes actually went so far as to say they felt that their agency was indifferent to clients, but 70% of the Internes said that their agency was bureaucratic.

In summary, we see that most Internes worked in a fairly friendly setting in one agency. The largest proportion of them considered that they worked for the agency rather than working for the Urban Corps or the City of New York. Despite the fact that they were friendly with their co-workers, a one in five minority thought their agencies were poorly run and not open to new ideas.

D. Effectiveness, satisfaction and change.

If this study had been a standard evaluation, we would have given the Internes a questionnaire before they started to work and another one after they had completed their summer. Ideally we would have had a control group of students who didn't work for the city at all, to compare to those who did. The one thing that such an evaluation would have been able to measure would have been change. Because we did not have two interviews with the Internes, this section will report on the results of a battery of questions in which Internes were asked to indicate how they felt they had changed.

A more comprehensive study might have tried to measure just what the Internes accomplished. If large numbers of people had been assigned to the same tasks -- such as teaching reading -- it would have been relatively easy to measure the improvement in reading scores to determine whether or not the Urban Corps was effective. Because Urban Corps Internes did such a wide variety of tasks, there would probably not have been any way to measure their overall effectiveness, even under the most ideal of conditions. Our two measures of effectiveness are the result of asking the Interne to rate his performance, and asking his supervisor to do so also. In this section, we will also discuss the complete results from the supervisors' questionnaire.

When it comes to satisfaction with the job, our one questionnaire administered at the end of the program is all that is needed. If we assume that the Internes were telling us the truth, we can adequately measure whether or not they were satisfied with their summer's experience.

1. Did the Internes do a good job?

We have information from the Internes as to how good a job they thought they did and how good a job they thought their supervisors thought they did. We also have information from the supervisors as to how good a job the Internes did. It might well be argued that the only meaningful measure is what the supervisors thought of the Internes' performance. Before we describe what the supervisors thought of the Internes, let us summarize the results of the short questionnaire that was completed by supervisors of 581 Internes. Special attention will be paid to those 329 Internes for whom we have two questionnaires -- one from the Interne and one from his supervisor.

a. How much supervision did the Internes have?

One example of the cooperation and seriousness with which the city agencies went about dealing with the Urban Corps Internes was that almost everyone had a supervisor. We asked the Internes:

> "Is there one person in your agency at present who is more or less your supervisor?"

All but 2% said "yes." The great majority of the Internes had the same supervisor all summer, and most of the rest had had one supervisor for more than four weeks. The supervisors and Internes were in close touch as 82% of the Internes said they saw their supervisors once a day or more often. The majority of supervisors supervised only one or two Internes. Only a quarter supervised three or more Internes. The great majority of Internes thought they had about the right amount of supervision while 8% felt they had too much. Almost all of the supervisors agreed with the Internes and felt that the Internes had the proper amount of supervision. However, almost none of the supervisors felt that the Internes had too much supervision.

The majority of the supervisors (61%) were male and their median age (as estimated by the Internes) was 44 years. Considering that they were city employees, the supervisors were well educated. The Internes estimated that two-thirds of their supervisors were college graduates or had education beyond the BA.

b. How did the supervisors rate the Internes?

We asked both the Internes and their supervisors to rate their performance. When we compare the supervisors' ratings of the Internes to the Internes' self ratings, we again find the supervisors more positive.

A-8 Rating of performance in the last month	A-5 Supervisor's rating	A-9 Interne's estimate of supervisor's rating	A-8 Interne's self rating
Very good	58%	48%	41%
Good	27	39	45
Fair	10	6	9
Poor	2	1	1
Very poor	1	0	0
It's hard to say	2	6	4

Interestingly enough, the Internes thought that their supervisors would rate them better than they themselves would have. The largest number of the Internes thought their supervisors would rate their performance as very good. However, they would have rated themselves slightly less highly.

Apparently the close relationship between the Interne and supervisor had enabled the Internes to estimate what their supervisors thought of them. Very few of the Internes said they didn't know how the supervisors would rate them.

Since it is hard for us to estimate the validity of the rating of either the Internes or their supervisors, a high level of agreement would allow us to place more faith in each of the ratings. When we compare the Interne's rating to his supervisor's rating, we find that the agreement is quite high. One-third of the Internes rated themselves very good, and were so rated by their supervisors. However, the same number of Internes rated themselves less than very good, but were rated very good by their supervisors. Very few rated themselves higher than their supervisors had. This corroborates the statement we made in Chapter 2 that the Internes were critical and perceptive. There is much greater agreement between the Internes' estimate of the supervisors' rating and the supervisors' actual ratings.

It is interesting that a substantial proportion of the Internes realize the difference between what they themselves think of the job they have done and what their supervisor thinks of the job they have done. Most of the Internes rated themselves in the same fashion on both measures. However, there were one out of seven of the Internes who said that their supervisors would rate their performance as very good while they would rate themselves less highly.

TABLE 3.4

MANY INTERNES RATED THEMSELVES LOWER
THAN THEIR SUPERVISORS DID

Internes A-8 How would you rate your performance in the last month?	Supervisors A-5 How would you rate the Interne's performance in the last month? Very good (63%)	 Good or less (37%)
Very good (43%)	31%	14%
Good or less (57%)	32	23
		Total = 100%

Internes A-9 How do you think your supervisor would rate your performance?		
Very good (55%)	41%	14%
Good or less (45%)	22	23
		Total = 100%

Reads: Forty-one percent of the Internes feel that their supervisors would rate them very good and this is how they are rated. Twenty-two percent feel their supervisors would rate themselves less highly than they did.

c. The rest of the supervisors picture of the Urban Corps.

We asked the supervisors whether they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements in an effort to find out the things they might not like about the Internes. The overwhelming majority agreed that "the Interne dresses appropriately for his or her job," and "cares about the work he is doing." This indicates that most of the Internes were accepted on an across-the-board basis by their supervisors.

The supervisors emerged as generally quite favorable to the Urban Corps program. None of them thought that the Urban Corps was a bad idea, and only 2% did not want Urban Corps Internes to return to their agency next summer. Only 6% said that they wanted a different type of Interne for next summer's program. None of them felt that the staff in their agency disliked the Internes.

In summary, we have seen that most Internes worked in close proximity to one supervisor and that the supervisors felt the Internes did a good job. Since there was substantial agreement between Internes and supervisors, we feel that the supervisors' ratings are probably valid.

2. Satisfaction.

a. How good were the jobs?

We included a large number of items to get at the various types of satisfaction and dissatisfaction of the Internes. We find that there the majority were quite satisfied. However, there was a substantial minority who were dissatisfied.

In an attempt to find out how satisfied the Internes were with their jobs, we asked them a battery of five questions. The question read as follows:[4]

A-24 "Please answer the following questions with reference to your present assignment":

a) Are you satisfied with your assignment?
18% Not at all
43 Satisfactory
39 Very satisfied

b) Do you find the assignment interesting?
22% Very dull
38 Satisfactory
38 Very interesting

c) Do you find the assignment within your experience and competence?
1% Very difficult
45 Reasonably
52 Very easy

d) Is your assignment related to either your present or future studies?
40% Not at all
36 Reasonably
20 Very closely
2 I don't know what I'll be studying

e) Is your assignment related to your career plans?
42% Not at all
31 Reasonably
19 Very closely
6 I haven't yet decided on my career

On the basis of the first two questions, we see that there was a dissatisfied one-fifth minority. However, four out of five were satisfied with their assignments and found them interesting. A considerably larger minority did not find their jobs related either to their present or future studies or to their career plans. Almost no one was bothered by an assignment that was too difficult.

Our conclusion from looking at these responses is that the Urban Corps did a good job in its first year. Certainly no one pretends that the bulk of city work is very interesting. How are we to judge these results? The fact that only one fifth of the Internes regarded their work as uninteresting might be regarded as either a triumph or as a disappointment. That three-fifths regarded their assignments as satisfactory might be regarded as a high or a low figure. If we were looking at college graduates placed in long-term career jobs we would say that this was not particularly good. For temporary summer jobs, these results are excellent.

Because of the Interneship nature of the program, an attempt was made to relate each job either to the student's studies or to his eventual career plans. Again, is the three-fifths who felt that their jobs were related to their studies to be considered good or bad? The Interne might not be a good judge of what type of work is related to his career. Although an impartial observer might see a relationship, the Interne need not agree.

> We talked to one Interne who was assigned as the executive assistant to a relatively high ranking city official. The Interne's major was international government. He didn't feel that what he was learning about city government had any relation to international government. Although the Interne himself saw no relationship, most impartial judges would disagree with him. We feel that there is a strong relationship between the problems of city government and those of international government.

b. Problems.

After talking to a number of Internes and reading the reports of the Field Staff, we drew up a list of the most frequently mentioned problems. We gave the Internes this list of 12 potential problems and asked them to indicate how much concern each had caused them:

A-44 List of problems cited by the Internes:

		A problem for me	No problem
1)	Not being paid on time	90%	10%
2)	Lack of communication or support from people running the Urban Corps	35	65
3)	Lack of communication or support from administrators at my college	34	66
4)	Appropriateness of my job	32	68
5)	Being overqualified for the job	32	68
6)	Not enough work	31	69
7)	Policies of agency in which I worked	28	72
8)	Having nothing to do a substantial portion of the time	25	75
9)	Too few visits from the Urban Corps central office	24	76
10)	Not being able to get along with agency co-workers (non-Urban Corps)	12	88
11)	Too much work	9	91
12)	Being underqualified for job	5	95

As anyone who was in close touch with the Internes would have known, lateness of pay was cited as a problem by nearly everybody. No other single problem was mentioned by half as many.

For people working for pay, receiving it is of consummate importance. One supervisor summarized the situation by saying:

> "The Interne would have performed better if he had been paid regularly. He was upset by this all summer."

Although all the Internes were eventually paid, the delay caused considerable concern to the Internes and their supervisors alike. Everyone in the administration of the program was upset by the pay problem and solving it occupied top priority during the winter of 1966. A totally new system has been devised for the second summer.

The second most serious problem was probably also related to pay. A third of the students indicated that "lack of communication or support from administrators at my college" was a problem. Since the college was the one that paid the students, and since this was their only real relation to the students during the summer, we are fairly safe in assuming that this lack of support was related to pay.

We will classify the items mentioned as problems by at least one-quarter of the Internes as important problems. Four of these problems revolved around the Interne's job. These were: "appropriateness of my job," "being overqualified for the job," and two items which relate to unutilized time -- "not enough work" and "having nothing to do a substantial portion of the time." We see that the problems revolved around over-qualification and under-utilization rather than the opposite. Almost no one mentioned as a problem, "being underqualified for the job," or "too much work." A number of the Internes also mentioned as a problem the lack of communication or support from people running the Urban Corps. This probably revolved around job placement, the lateness of pay, and the lack of ability of the Urban Corps staff to improve the assignments for all Internes who were dissatisfied. A substantial number of the Internes mentioned as a problem the policies of the agency in which they worked. Whether this applied to policies affecting the Interne's working conditions or the manner in which the agency carried out its mission, we don't know.

Now that we have seen how the Internes rated their jobs and what their problems were, the question we are faced with is, are the results good or bad? It is our feeling that these responses indicate that the program was successful. The meaning of the answers to the questions will be much more apparent in the next chapter when we see who was and wasn't satisfied and how the answers on one battery of questions relate to those from another.

c. Would they do it again?

A series of unrelated questions helps to fill in the picture of the Urban Corps as a success in most areas, but a failure in the case of a significant minority. We asked:

> "Do you feel that your present job is an appropriate job for an Urban Corps Interne?"

Two-thirds said "yes." This probably means that for the majority, expectations were fulfilled.

We have already mentioned that the Internes' supervisors were generally satisfied with the job the Internes did. Responses to the following two questions indicate that the Internes were aware of this. We asked:

> "Do you think the agency would want you to come back next summer if you could?"

and

> "Do you think your supervisor would want you to come back next summer if you could?"

In each case, almost all of the Internes said "yes," and only 1% said "no." The Internes definitely felt that they were well received and that they would be welcomed back.

In a similar vein we asked:

> "Knowing what you know now, would you still have worked in the Urban Corps?"

Despite the previously mentioned frustrations, nine out of ten said "yes." However, when we asked the further question:

> "For the same kind of work you are doing now?"

One quarter said "no." There were then a sizeable proportion of students who were satisfied with the Urban Corps in concept and actuality, but did not like their particular jobs. This is about the same proportion that reported that their jobs were uninteresting and unsatisfying.

The picture that emerges when we ask the Internes about their jobs is that the majority were satisfied and a strong minority had specific complaints about the fact that they were under-utilized or that their jobs were too low caliber. The problem of lateness of pay was experienced by and upsetting to almost all the Internes.

3. To what extent did the Urban Corps change the Internes?

The Urban Corps was designed to be an educational experience. It aimed to make the participants more interested in the political process and more aware of urban problems. As we said at the outset, the proper way to measure such change would have been to give the Internes two questionnaires, one before they began the program and the other at its completion. Lacking this, we have had to be content with asking them what changes they thought they underwent.

We asked them to indicate whether they had changed in any of nine different areas:

C-10 "Would you say your experience in the Urban Corps this summer has caused you to change in any of the following ways?"

	I have changed a great deal	I have changed somewhat	No change or hard to say
1) I am more interested in the mission of the agency in which I worked this summer	33%	33%	34%
2) I am more interested in the problems of the poor and disadvantaged	24	29	47
3) I understand urban problems better	22	45	33
4) I am more sympathetic to the problems of the mayor of a large city	21	34	46
5) I am more interested in the political process	11	21	68
6) I am more likely to be active in politics or organizations trying to get things done	11	20	69
7) The educational seminar (or seminars) I attended expanded my knowledge of New York City	8	24	68
8) I like New York City more	5	17	78
9) My experience this summer has caused me to change my career plans	5	9	86

We feel that there was considerable change on the first four items, in which one-fifth or more of the Internes claimed to have changed a great deal.

We see that the greatest change reported by the Internes was that they became more interested in the mission of their own particular agencies. This seems reasonable when we remember that the Internes worked in one agency and identified themselves as working for that agency. The Urban Corps had more of a specific than a general impact. Those who worked in the Department of Correction, for example, indicated that the principal fashion in which they had changed was becoming more interested in the goals and aims of the Department of Correction. This means that the person who worked in Correction probably changed in a very different way from the person who worked in the Corporation Counsel's office.

There were two general changes that related to the goals of the Urban Corps. Most Internes indicated that they had become more interested in the problems of the poor and the disadvantaged and that they understood urban problems better.

Finally, a substantial number of the Internes indicated that they were more sympathetic to the problems of the mayor of a large city. Although not too many felt that they were more interested in politics or more likely to be active in politics, they did at least gain a better picture of the problems.

Interestingly enough, the smallest amount of change was in relation to career plans. However, we also asked if there was a chance they might take a full-time job with either an agency of the Federal government (other than military service) or a state or city government (other than teaching). In each case, two-thirds said either "possibly" or "yes." We then followed with the question:

"If either of the above is yes or possibly, has your experience in the Urban Corps caused you to change in this respect?"

One-fifth of the Internes indicated that they were more likely to work for the government because of their experience in the Urban Corps. Since one of the goals of the Urban Corps was the recruitment into government service, the program was a success in this area.

E. Did the Urban Corps achieve its goals?

Finally, we were interested in determining how good a job the Internes themselves thought the Urban Corps did of accomplishing its goals. Those running the program helped us draw up a list of seven Urban Corps goals. We presented the Internes with this list of goals, and asked how well they felt the Urban Corps had done on each:

D-1 "As far as your personal experience is concerned, how good a job do you think the Urban Corps is doing in achieving its goals?

	Very good	Fairly good	Poor	No answer or hard to say
1) Allowing you to earn money for school next year	58%	31%	7%	4%
2) Broadening your educational experience	39	32	24	5
3) Allowing you to do something for people	32	31	27	10
4) Serving as an "Interneship" for you so that you will actually learn something	32	30	32	6
5) Helping the city get needed work done	27	45	18	10
6) Helping you to learn more about how New York City operates	24	45	24	7
7) Exposing the staff of city agencies to fresh ideas from new people	17	27	41	15

We see that about two-thirds of the Internes felt that the Urban Corps accomplished six out of its seven goals. It is especially interesting that although the students were paid late, and many saved relatively little, almost all felt that the Urban Corps had done a good job in allowing them to earn money for school. The Internes felt the Urban Corps had been least successful in "exposing the staff of city agencies to fresh ideas from new people."

F. The beginning of the summer compared to the end.

At the convocation which was held for the Urban Corps Internes after they had been on the job for two weeks, a short questionnaire was passed out which was filled in by 300 of the Internes. A battery of five questions was asked which we repeated in our questionnaire verbatim as question A-24. The Internes were asked if they found their jobs satisfying and interesting, if the jobs were within their experience and competence, and related to either their studies or their career plans. The questionnaires proved very useful for the Urban Corps Field Staff in that it enabled them to spot dissatisfied Internes. It was one of the reasons why their summary reports on the agencies were able to be fairly accurate.

We have already seen that, by and large, each Interne worked at one job in one agency with one supervisor for the entire summer. Based on this, we would not expect that there would be a great deal of difference in the Interne's evaluation of his job, whether he had been on it two weeks, as was the case at the convocation, or 12 weeks as was the case when he filled out our detailed questionnaire. Because the Field Staff attempted to solve problems, it might have been their hope that the

Internes would have been slightly more satisfied at the end of the summer than at the beginning. Surprisingly, enough, just the opposite was the case. Although the Urban Corps Field Staff worked hard to make improvements and a number of the Internes switched jobs, the comparison of answers to the same question shows that fewer of the Internes were satisfied with their assignments at the end of the summer than at the beginning. Possibly the difference is due to the fact that the 300 Internes who filled out the questionnaire at the convocation were not a good sample. We feel, however, that there is a different reason.

The Internes at the beginning of the summer, having high expectations of the program, were probably more likely to think that their problems would be resolved and that their jobs would become interesting. In some cases Internes may have felt that once they got into the job it would become more interesting, and therefore they did not indicate that they were very dissatisfied. On the other hand, it may have been that the Internes who were dissatisfied were hesitant to make this known to their superiors. Our questionaire (at the end of the program) assured anonymity to the respondents, but this was not the case with the first questionnaire. Whatever the reason, the fact is that more of the Internes reported that their jobs were dull, unsatisfying and unrelated to their studies as the summer wore on. One thing that is certain is that the evaluation of a job on the basis of a full summer's experience is more valid than thatobtained at the very beginning.

CHAPTER 4

SATISFACTION WITH THE JOB: CORRELATES AND CAUSES

A. How do we determine the causes?

In Chapter 3 we discussed three separate aspects of the Internes' jobs: the extent to which the Internes and their supervisors felt they did a good job, the Internes' satisfaction with their work, and how the Internes' attitudes and plans changed as a result of their summer's experience. Now that we know that most of the Internes were regarded as having performed well, that the majority was satisfied, and that many changed on becoming more interested in poverty and urban problems and the possibility of working for the government, we are interested in knowing which types of Internes were satisfied with their jobs and why.

There are two totally different ways in which we can attempt to determine the causes of the Internes' satisfaction. One is to ask the Internes themselves what it was that caused their experience to be good or bad. The second would be to find out what other answers in the questionnaire relate to the Interne's satisfaction with his job. Let us discuss each method in turn.

1. The method of direct questioning.

We did attempt to get the Internes to tell us in their own words why they were satisfied or dissatisfied. We asked two different questions which elicited these views:

1) "What two things have you liked most about your present job in the Urban Corps?"

2) "What two things have you liked least about your present job in the Urban Corps?"

Let us examine several of the replies concerning what the Internes liked most. We have selected Internes who were very satisfied with their assignments and found their assignments very interesting:

What Internes Who Were Very Satisfied with Their Assignments and Found Them Very Interesting Liked Most About Their Jobs:

"The wonderful experience. I learned a lot of things about my future studies."

"The mature attitude and responsibilities granted me."

"Interesting work. Interesting people."

"Respect paid me by my supervisors. Working conditions."

"The convocation and seminar."

"Experiences with handling patients and observing pathologies and surgery. Appropriateness of job."

What Was Liked Least About the Job by Those Who Were Not at All Satisfied with Their Assignments and Found Them Very Dull:

"Unpurposefulness of program. Lack of cooperation."

"Clerical work."

"My immediate supervisor discouraged me in many ways. Working under uncomfortable conditions."

"Not being paid on time. Distance from home."

"The pay came once a month. It should have come bi-weekly. The job wasn't appropriate."

"The dull work."

Although responses to these questions are extremely interesting, they are hard to deal with. The Internes mentioned a variety of dimensions, ranging from the setting in which the job was performed to the level of the work. Many mentioned the problem of pay which we saw in the previous chapter to have been an almost universal problem. Furthermore, many of the Internes who were very diligent in answering the multiple choice questions, did not answer these questions. Because it was a self-administered questionnaire, we were not able to pursue the matter to get full answers from all the Internes.

2. The method of cross-tabulation.

Although answers to these particular open-ended questions and several similar questions located in other parts of the questionnaire give us a good feeling for the types of satisfactions and frustrations experienced by the Internes, we will not use them to determine the causes and correlates of satisfaction, effectiveness and change. Rather, we will relate the various responses from each Interne and his supervisor to their other responses in our effort to determine the reasons for each Interne's evaluation of things.

a. The importance of job satisfaction

As a first step in this analysis, we decided to see what was related to being satisfied with one's assignment. In Chapter 3 we pointed out that the largest number of the Internes found their assignments "satisfactory," almost as many indicated that they were "very satisfied," and a one in five minority indicated that they were "not at all satisfied." When we related these answers to other questions about the job, we found that there was a strong association between the answers to the satisfaction question and the answers to many other questions of both the Internes and the supervisors.

When we cross-tabulated the satisfaction of the job with its interestingness (Question A-24a with Question A24b), we found that almost all (81%) Internes who were very satisfied with their assignment found it very interesting, while almost none (2%) of those who were not at all satisfied with their assignment found it very interesting. Similarly, those who found their assignments very interesting were extremely likely to have exercised initiative on their jobs, and very unlikely to have had larger amounts of idle time.

1) Satisfaction and effectiveness

We also find that those who were very satisfied with their assignments were much more likely to be rated as doing a very good job by their supervisors. Those who were very satisfied were also more likely to rate their own performance as very good.

2) Satisfaction and change

Those who were more satisfied also indicated that they had undergone a greater degree of change. While one-third of the Internes who were very satisfied with their assignment indicated that they had change d a great deal in understanding urban problems, only one-tenth of those who were not at all satisfied indicated that they had changed in this respect. While only 15% of those who were not at all satisfied with their assignments indicated that they had changed a great deal in interest in the problems of the poor and disadvantaged, nearly twice that number who were very satisfied with their assignments indicated such change.

We find that satisfaction, effectiveness and change are not isolated phenomena, but are highly related. Those who are more satisfied are more likely to be rated as effective, and more likely to have indicated that

TABLE 4.1

SATISFACTION WITH ONE'S ASSIGNMENT IS RELATED TO OTHER POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE ASSIGNMENT, TO AN EFFECTIVE RATING AND TO CHANGE

A-24a How satisfied is the Interne with his assignment	A-24b % finding assignment very interesting	B-7 % exercising initiative	A-7 % having nothing to do 10 hours per week or more	A-8 % rating their own performance very good	A-5 % rated very good by supervisor	C-10b % changing a great deal in understanding urban problems	C-10g % changing a great deal in interest in problems of the poor and disadvantaged
Very satisfied (39%)	81%	92%	7%	54%	73%	33%	29%
Satisfied (43%)	17	70	23	35	57	21	25
Not at all satisfied (18%)	2	34	41	35	47	9	15
Total all Internes	38%	68%	20%	43%	62%	22%	24%

Reads: Where 81% of the Internes who were very satisfied with their assignments found them very interesting, only 2% of those who were not at all satisfied did so. All differences above are significant at the .01 level using Chi-Square as the measure.

they have changed. When we talk of any one of these three elements of the summer's experience, we must realize that change and effectiveness, are strongly related to satisfaction.

b. The interrelation of the various elements

To get a better picture of what was actually happening, we selected 37 items from the Interne's and supervisor's questionnaires which indicated satisfaction, effectiveness, adjustment, change and other positive aspects of the job. We related the responses to each of these 37 questions to the other 36, and formed a matrix which contains the results of the 666 cross tabulations. We then determined which of the relationships were significant at the .01 probability level, using Chi-Square as our statistic. We ranked all of these 37 questions on the basis of the number of significant relationships generated.

The answers to six of the questions were positively related to three-quarters or more of the others (27 out of 37 or better). The six most strongly related questions turned out to be the following:

	The questions which were highly interrelated	Number of significant interrelations with the other 36 questions
A24b	"Do you find the assignment interesting?"	30
A24a	"Are you satisfied with your assignment?"	29
A51	"Knowing what you now know, would you still have worked in the Urban Corps doing the same kind of work you are doing now?"	28
D1g	"The Urban Corps is doing a very good job in achieving its goal of serving as an Interneship for you so	

	The questions which were highly interrelated	Number of significant interrelations with the other 36 questions
	that you will actually learn something, do you agree or disagree?"	28
A28	"Do you feel that your present job is an appropriate job for an Urban Interne?"	27
B7	"Do you have a chance to exercise any initiative on your job?"	27

Many of the measures were extremely highly related to one another. Half of the variables were significantly related to twenty or more of the other 36.

Those that were most highly related were concerned with the Urban Corps as a learning experience, the academic level of the job, the interestingness of the job, the job's relation studies and career plans, and the agency's openness to new ideas. In other words, most of the questions that were related to a large number of others had to do with the job being interesting and appropriate for an Interneship program.

c. The unimportance of late pay

Let us now look at those questions that were not related to many others. Only 10 of the 37 variables were not significantly associated with at least one-third of the others. The lateness of pay had no bearing on other variables. Citing the lateness of pay as a problem, the actual time of the Interne's first pay, and the amount of money earned versus expected, had virtually no relation to any of the elements of satisfaction, change or effectiveness. This is extremely interesting. Although the lateness of pay was a serious inconvenience for almost all the Internes, there were some who were paid later than others, and some for whom it was

Table 4.2

A SUMMARY OF THE INTERRELATION BETWEEN 37 VARIABLES AS MEASURED BY CHI-SQUARE

	Number of significant interrelationships with the other 36 variables at the .01 level using Chi-Square as a measure *	Rank on number of significant inter-relationships
A24b- Assignment interesting	30	1
A24a- Satisfied with assignment	29	2
A51- Work with the Urban Corps doing same job as now	28	3
D1g- Urban Corps served as learning experience	28	3
A28- Assignment Urban Corps appropriate	27	5
B7- Exercised initiative	27	5
A44e- Appropriateness of job - a problem	24	7
A44k- Over-qualified for the job - a problem	24	7
A24d- Assignment related to studies	24	7
A7- How many hours nothing to do	23	10
A24c- Assignment within experience and competence	23	10
A3b- Supervisor says Interne cares about work	23	10
A33- Academic level required for job	22	13
D1c- Does Urban Corps serve people	22	13
C10f- Changed to have interest in agency	22	13
A24e- Is assignment related to career	21	16
A3i- Supervisor says job is interesting	21	16
D1e- Exposed staff to new ideas	20	18
C10b- Changed attitude to urban problems	19	19
A3g- Supervisor says Interne shows initiative	19	19
A3a- Supervisor says come to work on time	17	21
A3c- Supervisor says dresses appropriately	15	22
C9- Define self to friend	14	23
A5- Supervisor's rating of Interne's performance	13	24
A8- Rate own performance	13	24
A9- Estimate your supervisor's rating	13	24
A6- Supervisor's estimate of academic level of job	13	24
A39- Complained to Urban Corps staff	12	28
C11- Urban Corps change your attitude about government job	12	28
C10g- More interested in problems of poor and disadvantaged	12	28
A37- Complained to agency	10	31
A3f- Supervisor says Interne has plenty to do	7	32
C10e- Changed attitude to mayor's problems	6	33
A18- Amount earned versus expected	5	34
B3- Liked educational seminar	1	35
A44a- Not being paid on time a problem	1	35
A49a- Week first paid	0	37

*For the specific relationships see Appendix X.

more of a problem than others. However, those who had more severe problems concerning pay were no less likely to be satisfied with their experience, to be rated as effective, or to indicate that they had not changed over the course of the summer. If we had simply taken the Interne's responses as to what they liked or disliked about their jobs, or observed the situation as outsiders without administering questionnaires, we might very well have concluded that it was lateness of pay that caused the Internes to be dissatisfied. However, by cross tabulation we have learned that being paid late had no effect on whether or not the Internes liked their work. Although the lateness of pay was a problem to the Internes and is certainly one of the things that they will remember about their summer, it did not contribute to their other attitudes.

B. What is a good job?

Before we can talk about what was associated with having a good job and what caused a particular Interne to have a good or a bad job, we must define what we mean by a good job.

Because we have information on so many different aspects of the job, we will define the good job on the basis of several characteristics. In forming an index to differentiate the good jobs and the bad ones, we should keep two criteria in mind:

1) The measures should be substantively related. A good job, we decided, was one which was satisfying and interesting, demanded initiative, and kept the Interne busy most of the time.

2) They should be statistically related. Those who score high on one dimension should be more likely to score high on the others. Each of these four measures was positively associated with the other three. In other words, an Interne who exercised initiative on the job was much more likely to report that the job was very interesting and very satisfying and much less likely to have nothing to do ten hours per week or more.

Our goodness of job score is based on equal weighting of responses to the following four questions:

A24a "Are you satisfied with your assignment?" The 39% of all Internes who responded "very satisfied" were given a score of one and all others a score of zero.

A24b "Do you find the assignment interesting?" The 38% of all Internes who replied "very interesting" were given a score of one and the balance were given a score of zero.

B7 "Do you have a chance to exercise any initiative on your job?" The 68% of all Internes who said "yes" were given a score of one and the balance a score of zero.

A7 "While at work how many hours per week do you actually have little or nothing to do?" The 78% of Internes who indicated that their idle time did not exceed nine hours per week were given a score of one and the balance were given a score of zero.

The responses to a four item index breakdown is as follows:

Distribution of Internes on Goodness of Job Score

1) 27% of all the Internes had a "goodness of job score" of four out of a possible four. These jobs we call very good jobs.

2) 37% of all the Internes had a "goodness of job score" of either two or three. This means that their job contained half or more of the requisites of a good job, but not all. These jobs we call good jobs.

3) 36% of the Internes had scores of zero or one. This means that their job contained one or less of the four elements that we considered making up a good job. These jobs we call poor jobs.

Before we discuss the relationship of the "goodness of job score" to other items in the questionnaire, we should comment on the distribution of scores themselves. Although only one-quarter of the Internes had jobs with the highest rating, two-thirds of them had jobs that were at least fairly good. Considering that this was the first summer of the program, and that it was very difficult to get such a large program under way, the results seem quite impressive. Also, remember that we have defined a very good job as one with which the Interne indicated he was very satisfied. The largest number of Internes were simply "satisfied" and not "very satisfied." Thus, we have set high standards for a job to receive the maximum score of 4.

C. The correlates of the good job

The elements in the questionnaire which related most strongly to the goodness of job score were other similar rating questions. For example, where 99% of those with very good jobs would work again for the Urban Corps doing the same job, only 43% of those with poor jobs would do so.

TABLE 4.3

ALMOST ALL WITH VERY GOOD JOBS
WOULD TAKE THEM AGAIN

Goodness of job score from four items		A51 Knowing what he knows now, would the Interne work for the Urban Corps again doing the same job?		
		Yes	No	
Very good (4)	28%	99%	1%	
Good (2-3)	37%	84	16	
Poor (0-1)	35%	43	57	
Total all Internes		74%	26%	100%

Reads: Where 99% of the Internes with very good jobs say that they would do the same job again, only 43% of those with poor jobs would. This is a difference of 56%.

The goodness of job score was also highly related to whether or not the Interne felt the assignment was appropriate for an Urban Corp Interne and whether the Interne indicated that the inappropriateness of his job was a problem to him.

1. The very good job was demanding

There was also a strong relationship with the level of the challenge of the job. The higher the academic level required for the job, and the more challenging it seemed to be, the more likely was the job to be rated very good. Where nearly half of those who said some college or more was required for their job had very good jobs, almost none of those who said that the academic level required for the job was lower than that of a high school graduate, had very good jobs. Those with very good jobs were much more likely to say the jobs were related to their career plans and that the Urban Corps served as a learning experience. These first dimensions were all of benefit to the Urban Corps Interne. We see that it was not a one-way street, however. Those with very good jobs were also much more likely to say that the Urban Corps had been a success in allowing them to do something for people. Where the majority of those with good jobs said the Urban Corps is doing a very good job, "in allowing you to do something for people" only one out of eight of those with poor jobs felt this way.

2. Those with very good jobs were more effective

Those with very good jobs were also considerably more likely to receive a high rating performance from their supervisor and they were more likely to rate their own performance positively. Those with very good jobs were also more likely to receive good ratings from the supervisor on the other dimensions on which they were rated. Those with very good jobs

TABLE 4.4

THOSE WITH GOOD JOBS WERE MORE LIKELY TO FEEL THEY HAD LEARNED AND ACCOMPLISHED SOMETHING

Goodness of job score	A3 % saying at least some college is required for the job	A44k % not indicating over qualification for the job as a problem	A24e % saying assignment was reasonably or very closely related to their planned career	D1g % saying the Urban Corps did a very good job serving as a learning experience for them	D1c % saying the Urban Corps did a very good job in allowing them to do something for people
Very good (4)	65%	94%	83%	67%	62%
Good (3-2)	42%	65	54	36	36
Poor (0-1)	24	35	27	9	13
Total all Internes	42%	65%	50%	32%	32%
Difference between very good and poor	41%	59%	56%	58%	49%

Reads: Sixty-five percent of those with very good jobs said some college or more was required to do their job compared to only 24% of those with poor jobs. This is a difference of 41%.

were much more likely to have their supervisor agree that they cared about their work. The supervisors of Internes with very good jobs were also much more likely to report that the jobs were interesting, that the Internes came to work on time, and that they dressed appropriately. A major determinant of whether or not the Interne was regarded as having done a good job by his supervisor was whether or not he held a very good job.

TABLE 4.5

INTERNES WITH VERY GOOD JOBS WERE RATED MORE POSITIVELY BY THEIR SUPERVISORS

	Supervisors' opinions			
Internes' goodness of job score	A5 % rating Interne's performance very good	A3b % agreeing strongly that the Interne cares about work	A3a % agreeing strongly that the Interne comes to work on time	A3c % agreeing strongly that the Interne dresses appropriately
Very good (4)	75%	93%	91%	91%
Good (2-3)	63	75	85	79
Poor (0-1)	47	60	64	69
Total all Internes	58%	69%	75%	77%
Difference	28%	20%	27%	22%

3. Those with very good jobs were more likely to change.

Those Internes who held good jobs were somewhat more likely to indicate that they had undergone change. Those who held very good jobs became more interested in urban problems and the problems of the poor and the disadvantaged. Those who held very good jobs were also more likely to feel that they had changed in favor of government service on the basis of their Urban Corps experience. Those with better jobs were more likely to have indicated that they changed, but the relationship between the goodness of job score and change is considerably weaker than the relation between the goodness of job score and the challenge of the job or the rating of the supervisor.

TABLE 4.6

THOSE WITH BETTER JOBS WERE MORE LIKELY TO CHANGE

Goodness of job score	C-11 I am more likely to go to work for the government as a result of my experience with the Urban Corps (of those who indicated they might possibly go to work for the government)	C10g I am more interested in the problems of the poor and disadvantaged	C10b I understand urban problems better
Very good (4)	41%	63%	80%
Good (2-3)	25	59	73
Poor (0-1)	19	43	62
Total all Internes	27%	53%	67%
Difference	22%	20%	18%

Reads: Although only 43% of the Internes with poor jobs indicated that their summer with the Urban Corps had made them more interested in the problems of poverty, 63% of those with very good jobs felt this way.

4. Rate of pay didn't matter, but the number of hours worked did

We find that the rate of pay, problems with pay and the amount earned versus the amount expected had little effect on whether or not the Interne regarded his job as good or poor. There is a relationship, however, between the number of hours worked per week and the goodness of the job. Approximately three-quarters of the Internes worked 34 hours a week or less. Of those who worked 34 hours a week or less, 23% held very good jobs. Of the minority who worked 35 hours a week or more, however, 36% held "very good jobs." It may have been that those who felt their jobs were somewhat futile had this feeling heightened by working less hours per week than they desired. A job with longer working hours might have been rated as better whether or not its actual content was different.

D. The determinants of the good job

There are basically two types of factors other than the nature of the work itself that could lead to an Interne having a good or a poor job. First, there are characteristics of the individual. For example, those from families with higher income and those further along in school may have done better. Secondly, there were factors relating to the agency. Those who described their agencies as indifferent to clients might be expected to rate their jobs less highly. We will classify these two types of determinants as factors related to the individual and factors related to the agency. We will discuss each in turn, but at the outset we will say that factors related to the agency seem to have been much more important.

1. Factors relating to the individual

We included a number of questions to try to determine how each Interne related to his parents, to his peers in college, and to those with whom he had gone to high school. We also learned about his scholastic achievement and his family's socio-economic standing. None of these had very much of an effect on whether or not the Interne saw his job as a good one. The strongest predictor of whether or not the Interne would have a good job revolved about his plans for the future and what he valued in an occupation.

a. What is wanted in a career?

We asked the question

> "Which of these characteristics would be very important to you in picking a job or career?"

In the second chapter we described how Urban Corps Internes appeared to be more idealistic and adventuresome than the national sample of college students. Those who indicated a greater interest in people were much more likely to be positive about their work. Internes who felt that a career should present them with "the opportunity to be helpful to others" and "the opportunity to work with people rather than things" were more likely to have very good jobs. Those who were willing to take risks and work hard also did better. Those who did not want "opportunities for moderate but steady progress rather than the chance of extreme success or failure" had better jobs.

We have shown that those who wanted challenge and the opportunity to work with people were more likely to wind up with good jobs. At the opening convocation the news commentator, Edward P. Morgan, compared Urban Corps Internes to Peace Corps Volunteers. Many of the Internes felt the allusion was inappropriate. We have seen, however, that Urban Corps Internes were more likely to hold Peace Corps type values than the general run of college students. The Peace Corps types in the Urban Corps (as evidenced by what they wanted from a career) were more likely to make a success out of their Urban Corps experience than their more conventional classmates.

TABLE 4.7

CAREER VALUES HELPED TO DETERMINE WHETHER AN INTERNE WOULD LIKE HIS JOB

		Percent of Internes with very good jobs		
		Those checking the characteristic as important in picking a career	Those not checking the characteristic as important	Difference
C6-9	Opportunity to work with people rather than things	31%	19%	12%
C6-3	Opportunities to be helpful to othersor useful to society	29	18	11
C6-7	Opportunities for moderate but steady progress rather than the chance of extreme success or failure	21	31	- 10

Reads: Where 19% of those not indicating that it was important that a career allow them to work with people rather than things had very good jobs, 31% of those to whom this was an important attribute of a career held very good jobs.

b. The prospective occupation

We presented the Internes with a standard list of occupations and fields of specialty and asked them to indicate their "probable field of occupation." We have broken the occupations down into three different groups based on the amount of contact with or service to people that each permits. The anticipated careers of the Internes break down as follows:

The Internes' Anticipated Career Fields

1) Health related occupations and education -- 25%. These occupations could be expected to bring about closest contact with people and the greatest service to people.

2) The humanities, law and the social sciences -- 46%. These occupations offer an intermediate amount of contact with and service to people.

3) Science, engineering and business -- 20%. This group of occupations offers the prospect of the least contact with and service to people.

4) The remainder -- 9% -- either did not list a planned occupation or indicated they intended to be housewives. We have excluded them from the analysis.

Although we have had information on the Internes' undergraduate and graduate majors as well as their probable occupations, we will discuss only the probable occupation. The tendencies reflected in the occupation extend to the other two areas but the differences are more marked for the occupation. Those intending to go into health and education were more than twice as likely to end up with very good jobs as those intending to go into science, engineering and business. Where only 15% of those intending to go into science, engineering or business had very good jobs, 37% of those intending to go into the health and related occupations and education had very good jobs. Those electing the humanities, law and the social sciences were intermediate with 27% having very good jobs. These differences are extremely marked. What is more significant is that they are stronger than any other differences related to individual characteristics. Much has been written by Holland and other social psychologists to demonstrate that different personality types prefer different types of occupations.[1] Whether or not we are dealing with different personality types we do not know. It is quite certain that those aiming for occupations which will bring them into contact with people and allow them to serve people were much more likely to find their Urban Corps Interneship rewarding. If we had had a measure of the type of work each of the Internes did, we would know a great deal more about this matter.

TABLE 4.8

THOSE INTENDING TO GO INTO THE HEALTH PROFESSIONS AND EDUCATION WERE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE GOOD JOBS

	Goodness of job score			
F 21 Your probable field or occupation	Poor job (0-1)	Good job (2-3)	Very good job (4)	
Health professions and education (27%)	23%	40%	37%	
Humanities, law, and social science (50%)	38	35	27	
Science, engineering, and business (23%)	46	39	15	
Total all Internes	28%	37%	35%	100%

c. How they evaluated people

We asked the Internes a standard battery of questions which were designed to differentiate them into those that were liberal, trusting and open and those that were more conservative and guarded in their dealings with other people. In general, the battery showed that the Internes are rather friendly and outgoing. The answers to three of the questions differentiated the Internes in regard to whether or not they wound up with satisfactory jobs. Those who agreed that "most people cannot be trusted" were considerably less likely to have very good jobs than those who disagreed. Those who agreed with the statement "most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow" were similarly less likely to have very good jobs. Those who agreed with the statement "individualism is dying out in America" were slightly less likely to have very good jobs than those who disagreed. At the most conservative and guarded end of the continuum we have 12% of the Internes who agreed with all three statements. They indicated a considerable amount of distrust of their fellow men. Only 19% of them had very good jobs. At the more friendly and outgoing end of the continuum we have 22% of the Internes who disagreed with all three statements. Twice as many (40%) of these Internes had very good jobs. We see that those who had a more friendly and open attitude toward people were more likely to wind up having jobs that they regarded as very satisfying.

TABLE 4.9

THOSE WHO ARE MORE POSITIVE IN THEIR EVALUATIONS OF PEOPLE WERE MORE LIKELY TO REGARD THEIR OWN JOBS AS VERY GOOD

Evaluations of people				
Cle Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow	Cld Most people cannot be trusted	Clb Individualism is dying out in America	% with very good jobs	% of all Internes
Agree	Agree	Agree	19%	12%
Agree	Agree	Disagree	16	8
Agree	Disagree	Agree	18	20
Agree	Disagree	Disagree	22	12
Disagree	Agree	Agree	22	2
Disagree	Agree	Disagree	25	2
Disagree	Disagree	Agree	38	22
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	40	22
Total all Internes			35%	100%

d. The academic level of the Interne

The further along a person is in school, the more likely he is to have a specific capability which can lead to a more high level job. This may be the reason why 37% of the graduate students had very good jobs compared to only 18% of those who were going to be freshmen. Those who were going to be sophomores, juniors and seniors fell into an intermediate position with about one-quarter of each having very good jobs. The Interne's year in school didn't make much of a difference unless he was going to be either a freshman or a graduate student.

We have seen that those who had higher level and more challenging jobs were more satisfied. It seems obvious that graduate students would be more likely to have the skills which would lead them to being assigned to the higher level jobs. The fact that such a large proportion of the graduate students held very good jobs suggests that the placement procedures were working fairly well. We should not neglect the fact, though, that 28% of the graduate students had poor jobs. The prospective freshman's lot was much less favorable and nearly one-half (46%) wound up with poor jobs. There is also the factor that the older, more skilled and experienced Interne was able to take the necessary steps to make his job more satisfactory. It should not be surprising to learn that graduate students were much more likely to make suggestions to their agency than were those who were going to be freshmen. Freshmen will probably continue to be the most difficult to place, as a large number of them haven't even decided on a college major or a future occupation.

e. Campus activities

Although we know a lot about the campus activities and social lives of our Internes, most of this information told us little about whether an Interne will wind up with a good or a poor job. For example, those who dated or went to movies most frequently were no more likely to wind up with good jobs. Fraternity members' jobs didn't differ from those of non-fraternity members.

We found, however, that those who had held offices or other positions of authority in campus groups and organizations were more likely to have very good jobs than were those who had not held such positions. Where 38% of those holding leadership positions in campus groups and organizations had very good jobs, only 22% of the balance did so. Leadership which really demanded something of the individual, seemed to be the most important. For example, about half of those who had held important positions in athletics, publications, student government and religious groups wound up with very good jobs. Those who held important positions in campus groups and organizations were most likely men and women who had learned to exercise leadership and take command. They were able to apply the same skills in both obtaining and making the best of a temporary summer job.

f. Background characteristics

We found that the sex of the Interne had no bearing on whether or not the job was regarded as very good. Likewise, we found that parents' socio-economic status had no effect. Also, we found there was no difference on the basis of a person's race, the size of his family and whether or not he was raised in New York City.

We have covered a wide range of factors which might or might not account for the Interne's satisfaction with his job. We have seen that his career plans, what he wants out of a career, his general friendliness, his having been involved in leadership situations on campus, and his year in school all helped to determine whether or not a given individual would end up with a good Urban Corps job.

We will now turn to factors related to the Interne's agency. We will see that they played a larger role in determining whether or not the Interne would regard his job as satisfactory.

2. Factors relating to the agency

a. Choice of agency and choice of job

We asked the Internes how much choice they had in picking the agency they worked at and the job they held. Each turned out to be an extremely important determinant of how satisfied the Interne was with his job. The more the choice, the more the satisfaction. Some choicein picking one's job was an even greater determinant of satisfaction. This fits in with social-psychological theory which states that if people feel they have a say in the decision-making process they are more likely to accept the decision that is made.[2] These are among the strongest determinants of job satisfaction and they are far stronger than any of the factors related to individual differences, such as having participated in extra-curricular activities, or being a graduate student. No matter how carefully worked out the screening and placement procedures are, the Interne must feel that he has some say in the matter.

TABLE 4.10

THOSE WHO HAD SOME CHOICE IN PICKING EITHER
THEIR AGENCY OR THEIR JOB WERE MUCH MORE
LIKELY TO BE SATISFIED WITH THEIR JOBS

	Per cent with very good jobs		
B2 and B3 How much choice would you say you had in choosing:	My choice or some choice	No choice	Difference
Your agency	34%	20%	14%
Your job	40	15	25

b. Agency preparation

We asked the Internes how much their agencies had prepared them for their work and whether they felt this was about the right amount of preparation. Agency preparation (as perceived by the Interne) was a strong factor in job satisfaction. More of the Internes who reported that their agency had given them some preparation or quite a bit of preparation had very good jobs. Likewise, too much preparation is worse than the right amount but not as bad as too little. We previously commented that most of the agencies seemed to have done a reasonable amount of preparation prior to the arrival of the Urban Corps Internes. One of our indicators of this was that most Internes had the same supervisors and held the same job all summer long. One can imagine the frustration of an Interne arriving on the job with high expectations, and finding out that there was no clear plan as to what he was to do; that there was no one to help him, that there was no one to plan his job, and that there was no place for him to work. Even though the jobs were temporary, lasting only for the summer, a certain amount of time and effort on the part of the agency supervisors was required for preparation and this preparation paid dividends in increased Interne satisfaction. The more complex and demanding jobs which required much preparation were much more likely to be satisfying.

TABLE 4.11

WHERE THERE WAS MORE PREPARATION, THE INTERNES WERE MORE SATISFIED WITH THEIR JOBS

B 4 When you first arrived in this agency, how much did your agency prepare you for what you would be doing?	Goodness of job score		
	Very good (4)	Good (2-3)	Poor (0-1)
There was some preparation (51%)	36%	39%	25%
There was little or no preparation (47%)	17	35	48
B 5 Do you feel that this was too much preparation, not enough, or about right?			
About the right amount of preparation (52%)	33%	37%	31%
Too much preparation (4%)	26	26	48
Too little preparation (26%)	18	42	40

c. The style of the agency

We asked the Internes to characterize their agency on the basis of how open it was to new ideas, how sympathetic it was toward its clients, and how bureaucratic it was. Each of these had a very strong bearing on what the Interne thought of his job. The thing that mattered most to the Internes was whether or not the agency was open to new ideas. Where one half of the Internes in agencies that they characterized as very open to new ideas had very good jobs, only one out of ten of those in agencies they characterized as not at all open to new ideas had very good jobs. Those Internes who characterized their agencies as very sympathetic toward clients were much more likely to have very good jobs. It was also important that the agency not be regarded as highly bureaucratic.

TABLE 4.12

EVALUATION OF THE AGENCY WAS
RELATED TO JOB SATISFACTION

B 30 How did the Interne characterize the agency with regard to each of the following? Was it:	Per cent with very good jobs			
	Very	Somewhat	Not at all	Difference
Open to new ideas	48%	23%	11%	37%
Sympathetic to clients	38	23	9	29
Bureaucratic	15	32	37	22

Why was the style of the agency such an important factor in determining whether or not the Interne would have a satisfactory job? The Urban Corps was conceived of as an innovation. It was hoped that the freshness and idealism of the college students would have an effect on the older-line bureaucrats. This was in line with the Lindsay Administration's attempt to revitalize City agencies. If an agency was seen by the Internes as not being at all open to new ideas it would be pretty difficult for the Urban Corps to succeed in this respect. Furthermore, we can expect that the more innovative agency would be more adaptable in their use of Internes.

d. The uniqueness of the job

We thought that if an agency created a number of similar jobs there would be a chance that those jobs might be better planned, and therefore be better jobs. Our hypothesis was wrong. We asked the Internes, "Are there other Urban Corps Internes in your agency who do pretty much the same kind of work you do?" Of the minority who replied "no," one-third reported that their jobs were very good. Of those who did pretty much the same sort of work as other Internes in their office, only one-quarter held very good jobs. Apparently when a number of Internes are assigned in a group, they **were much more likely** to wind up with unsatisfactory jobs. Whenever possible the Internes should be given individual jobs suited both to the needs of the agency and to the talent and interest of the Interne.

TABLE 4.13

THOSE WHOSE WORK WAS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THEIR FELLOW INTERNES WERE LESS LIKELY TO HOLD POOR JOBS

A 26 Are there other Urban Corps Internes in your agency who do pretty much the same kind of work you do?	Goodness of job score			
	Very good (4)	Good (2-3)	Poor (0-1)	
No (25%)	33%	41%	26%	
Yes (63%)	25	36	39	100%

e. The education of the supervisor

We have previously seen that the Internes worked in a fairly congenial work setting. Generally they were well regarded by their supervisors. There was little ill feeling between Internes and either their co-workers or their supervisors. We have from the Internes a limited amount of information about their supervisors. Most things, such as the sex of the supervisor and the number of Internes reporting to the supervisor, have no impact on the satisfaction of the Interne in his job. However, the level of education of the supervisor is strongly related to the Interne's satisfaction with his job. We have already shown that the educational level of the supervisors (as perceived by the Internes) is remarkably high. Nearly half of the Internes who felt they knew the educational attainment of their supervisors reported that their supervisors had not only graduated from college, but had some form of post-graduate education. Only one-fifth of the Internes (who estimated the level of education of their supervisors) said that their supervisor had not finished college. Of those Internes with supervisors having graduate education, 41% had very good jobs. Of the Internes whose supervisors had not graduated from college, only 10% had very good jobs. We have previously seen that the better jobs were those which required a higher level of academic preparation, and which were more challenging. It appears that a person who is not a college graduate cannot very well supervise a graduate student, or one who is likely to go to graduate school, in a job that is supposed to provide a meaningful educational experience.

TABLE 4.14

THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF THE SUPERVISOR WAS AN IMPORTANT DETERMINANT OF JOB SATISFACTION

	Goodness of job score			
B 13 Estimate about how far your supervisor went in school?	Very good (4)	Good (2-3)	Poor (0-1)	
Beyond the BA (46%)	41%	34%	25%	
College graduate (33%)	21	44	35	
Some college or less (21%)	10	33	57	100%

The Internes who worked for older supervisors were less likely to be satisfied with their jobs, but this was largely a factor of the difference in education between younger and older supervisors. Younger supervisors were considerably more likely to have been perceived by the Internes as having education beyond college. The difference in education between younger and older supervisors is consistent with the increase in education in the younger population throughout the United States. Women supervisors and older supervisors were similar in that each was likely to have less education. Each was also less likely to have three or more Internes reporting to him. However, where the older supervisors were more likely to have Internes who had nothing to do a considerable portion of the time, women supervisors were more likely to make sure that their Internes were busy all the time. The most important factor to be kept in mind is that more educated supervisors were more likely to have satisfied Internes working for them.

f. Identification with the agency and not the Urban Corps

In many programs where outsiders from different backgrounds are assigned temporarily to organizations, as is the case with Peace Corps and Vista Volunteers, those who are going to be sent out are given a training program which attempts to build a sense of identity. By the time the Vista Volunteer reports to his first assignment he has been through an extensive training program and he has a pin to remind himself and others of his identity as a soldier in the war on poverty. The Urban Corps Internes did not have a similar training program and because communications from headquarter were poor, neither they nor their co-workers were constantly reminded that they were Urban Corps Internes. At the outset we expected that the more successful Internes, as evidenced by satisfaction with their jobs, and good ratings by supervisors, would be more likely to think of themselves as Urban Corps Internes. We tried to help the Urban Corps staff think of ways to boost the sense of identity of the Internes with the Urban Corps.

We have already mentioned that we asked the Internes:

> "If you were to meet a friend whom you had not seen since May, what would you tell him you were going to do this summer?"

In response to the question the Internes were about evenly divided between those who would say they worked for their agency and those who said they worked for the Urban Corps. Only a small minority indicated that they would say they worked for the City of New York. When we cross-tabulated our four-item measure of the "goodness of the job" by the responses to the question on identification, we found that our earlier expectations had been incorrect. Almost two-thirds of those with very good jobs would identify themselves as working for their agency. Only half that many of the very good job holders would say they were Urban Corps Internes. When we look at the Internes with poor jobs we see that they are about equally split between those who would identify themselves as working for their agency and those who would say they were Urban Corps Internes. Those who had very good jobs were very likely to identify with their agency.

We have previously seen that factors related to the Interne's agency made a substantial difference in determining whether he regarded his job as good or bad. Clearly the job was not separable from the agency in the mind of the Interne. The Interne with the good job considered that he worked for a good agency. We will see, in a later chapter, that there were substantial interagency differences in the satisfaction of Internes. Although it was not universal for Internes with good jobs to identify with their agency, the differences are very marked. Perhaps they would have been even more striking if we had phrased our question better or gotten at other dimensions of the same aspect. In any event, the conclusion is

Table 4.15

THOSE WHO HELD VERY GOOD JOBS WERE MOST LIKELY TO SAY THAT THEY WORKED FOR THEIR AGENCY

	C-9 If you were to meet a friend who you had not seen since May, what would you tell him you are doing this summer?			
Goodness of job score	Working for my agency	Working as an Urban Corps Interne	Working for the City of New York	
Very good (4)	62%	31%	7%	
Good (2-3)	47	36	17	
Poor (0-1)	37	40	23	
Total all Internes	34%	30%	16%	100%

inescapable. The Interne with the good job was much more likely to identify with his agency than with the Urban Corps.

The policy implications of this finding are that everything should be done to make the Interne feel a meaningful part of his agency, although he is to be there only for the summer. Although we do not have data on this matter, it may well be that those Peace Corps Volunteers who are most satisfied with their experience feel that they are really a part of the agency to which they are attached or a member of the community in which they are working. This does not mean that the satisfied Interne cannot have two identities - one as a member of his agency, and another as an Urban Corps Interne. The agency is the Interne's work setting. He has a very clear picture of the agency, but only a very vague picture of the Urban Corps - especially since no early identification was built up through a training period.

We noted the importance of the agency over the Urban Corps when we asked the Internes who were invited to educational seminars but didn't attend, why they hadn't. A number mentioned that there was just too much work at their agency, or that they couldn't be spared from a particularly important task. The importance of this sense of identification with the agency would also suggest that every effort be made to accommodate Internes who want to work a second summer to work with the same agency.

Summary

After establishing a measure based on four separate items which enabled us to differentiate good jobs from bad, we examined how characteristics of both the Interne and his agency helped to determine whether the job would be a good one or a bad one. We found that the individual differences which were of greatest importance were those relating to the Interne's anticipated career -- particularly likely to be satisfied were those Internes who wanted a career that would allow them to do something for people and who wanted to do something a little out of the ordinary. Most individual differences didn't have too much to do with whether or not an Interne would be satisfied except that graduate students were more likely than average to end up with good jobs, and those who were going to be freshmen were less likely.

The major differences in determining whether or not an Interne had a satisfactory work experience revolved around his agency. It was very important that the Interne feel that he had some choice in regard to his agency and his job, and that he wasn't simply treated like an IBM card. The amount of trouble the agency took to prepare him for his job was important and it was very important that the agency be open to new ideas, unbureaucratic and sympathetic to clients. Supervisors with a higher level of education had more satisfied Internes working for them, perhaps because the work itself was more challenging. The satisfied Internes were most likely to think of themselves as working for their agency.

Chapter 5

THE GOOD RATING

We saw in Chapter 3 that the majority of the Internes were rated as having done a very good job by their supervisors. We also saw that this agreed strongly with the Interne rating himself. In this chapter we will examine the causes and correlates of the good rating.

A. The correlates of the good rating.

In looking at the Internes we examined two other dimensions of their summer's experience: satisfaction with the job and self-reported change. Those with better jobs were much more likely to receive good ratings. There was no relation between change and a good rating. Those who indicated they had changed in either understanding Urban problems better or being more interested in the problems of poverty were no more likely to receive good ratings from their supervisors. It was possible to do a good job without changing. Although change (or growth) on the part of the Internes may be desirable, it is certainly not essential for the program as a whole to have been a success.

Relatively few aspects of the job were associated either positively or negatively with the rating given the Interne by his supervisor. One exception came in response to the question:

> "Knowing what you now know, would you still have worked in the Urban Corps for the same kind of work you are doing now?"

Where two-thirds of those who said "yes" received very good ratings, only one-half of those who said "no"received very good ratings.

Table 5.1

THOSE WITH GOOD JOBS WERE MUCH MORE LIKELY TO RECEIVE RATINGS OF VERY GOOD FROM THEIR SUPERVISORS

Goodness of job score (according to the Interne)		A-5 Supervisors' rating		
		Very good	Good or less	
Very good	(4)	75%	25%	
Good	(2 - 3)	63	37	
Poor	(0 - 1)	47	53	100%

Reads: Where 75% of those Internes who held very good jobs [redacted] were rated by their supervisors as having done a very good job, only 47% of those with poor jobs received such a rating.

We mentioned earlier that problems with pay, although universal, had relatively little to do with whether or not the Interne was satisfied with his job. The cross-tabulation of the time of the summer when the Interne received his first pay-check with rating awarded by his supervisor illustrates this point quite strikingly. The Internes who were paid earlier were actually slightly less likely to receive very good ratings than those who were paid later.

The supervisors tended to see the Internes in fairly black and white terms. Although we asked the supervisors a wide variety of questions about each Interne, Internes who received very good ratings got positive ratings in response to most other questions and Internes who received less favorable ratings got less positive responses. When we look at the responses that were most likely to correlate strongly with the positive ratings, we get a good idea of what the supervisors considered to be important. Almost all the supervisors who rated the Interne very good strongly agreed with the statement "The Interne cares about the work he is doing." Almost all those who felt that the Interne cared about his work rated the Interne very good while only a handful of the balance gave an equally high rating. The same was true for the statement, "The Interne has shown initiative." Four out of five of those who strongly agreed with this statement gave the Interne a very good rating, compared to one out of five of the balance.

Four other statements by the supervisor were strongly associated with his rating. These were (in order of the strength of their relationship)the following:

> "The Interne comes to work on time."
>
> "The Interne dresses appropriately for his or her job."
>
> "The Interne has plenty to do most of the time."
>
> "The Interne has an interesting job."

From this we see that the things that mattered most to supervisors were that the Interne cared about his work and that he showed initiative.

Table 5.2

SUPERVISORS WHO GAVE VERY GOOD RATINGS ALSO RATED THE INTERNES HIGH ON OTHER DIMENSIONS

		Percent of supervisors rating Interne's performance as very good		
Statements with which supervisors were asked to agree or disagree		Supervisor strongly agrees	Supervisor is less positive	Difference
A-3b	The Interne cares about the work he is doing	79%	15%	64%
A-3g	The Interne has shown initiative	82	21	61
A-3a	The Interne comes to work on time	69	27	42
A-3c	The Interne dresses appropriately for his or her job	67	31	36
A-3j	The Interne has plenty to do most of the time	67	35	32
A-3i	The Interne has an interesting job	67	45	22

Reads: Almost all (79%) of the supervisors who strongly agreed that the Interne really cared about his work rated the Interne as having done a very good job. Only 15% of those who didn't strongly agree with the statement gave a similar rating. The difference was 64%.

B. The causes of the good rating.

Although a large number of factors related to his agency in determining whether the Interne would regard his job as satisfactory, and a small number of factors related to his own goals, values and background were important, such factors played a very small role in determining whether or not the Interne received a very good rating from his supervisor.

Having a choice in picking one's job, which was one of the most important factors in determining whether or not the Interne would regard his job as satisfactory, was a major factor determining his rating by his supervisor. Where three-quarters of those who said the job was essentially their choice were rated very good, only three-fifths of those who said they had some choice or no choice received such a rating. The same differences applied when the choice of job was related to the Interne's self-rating and his estimate of his supervisor's rating.

Those who did the same sort of work as other Internes in their agency were less likely to receive a rating of very good from their supervisor. Apparently it is easier to show initiative and to be challenged when one does a unique, special type of work. It may well be that those who felt their work was unique had more to do in determining what they would do and how they would do it. Those who did work similar to other Internes in their agency also rated themselves less highly.

Those who received a written job description were slightly less likely to receive a rating of very good. This suggests that the Internes whose jobs worked out well and who did a good job, in large measure, created their own jobs around their own special talents and interests after they arrived in their agency. Although there may have been a general idea on the part of the agency about what it wanted done, flexibility appears to have been an important factor. The job appears to have been created after the Interne arrived on the scene.

Table 5.3

THE INTERNES WHO SELECTED THEIR AGENCY THEMSELVES AND WHO DID WORK NOT DONE BY OTHERS RECEIVED THE BEST RATINGS

Internes responses	A-5 % of supervisors rating Interne's performance very good	A-8 % of Internes rating their own performance as very good	A-9 % of Internes estimating that supervisors would rate them very good
B-2 How much choice did the Interne have in picking his agency?			
It was the Interne's choice (21%)	76%	57%	59%
Some choice or none (75%)	60	40	46
A-26 Were there other Urban Corps Internes in the agency doing pretty much the same kind of work the Interne did?			
No, others were not doing similar work (25%)	74%	53%	57%
Yes, others were doing similar work (63%)	59	38	45

Reads: Where 76% of the Internes who picked their own agency received very good ratings from their supervisors, only 60% of those who did not pick their agency were rated as highly.

The rest of the differences were minor. Those who wanted a career which would allow them to work with people rather than things were slightly more likely to receive a high rating than those who didn't indicate that this was important. Graduate students were slightly more likely to receive a rating of very good than the rest, although the difference was not so pronounced as it had been in relation to job satisfaction.

Summary

Surprisingly enough, few attributes of either the individual or his agency had much to do with determining whether or not the Interne would receive a good rating by his supervisor. The largest determinent of the good rating was the good job. Those who didn't change their attitudes over the course of the summer were just as likely to receive high ratings as those who did. The supervisors who thought well of their Internes ranked them high on a number of dimensions. It was as important to the supervisor that the Interne care and that he show initiative as it was to the Interne that he be given a chance to show initiative. The Interne who felt he had some choice in selecting his job was more likely to receive a good rating and the Interne who did work that was quite similar to others in his agency was less likely to receive such a rating.

Aside from the job being good or bad, there was little that was associated or led to a good rating. Although the ratings seem valid, because the Internes themselves agreed with them, there is little else we can say about the good rating until we come to discuss good and poor agencies.

Chapter 6

THE INTERNE WHO CHANGED

A. The interrelation of the three types of change.

In Chapter 3 we saw that a substantial number of Internes indicated that they had changed a great deal on three dimensions. Approximately one-fifth of the Internes said that they had:

1. Changed a great deal in becoming interested in the problems of the poor and disadvantaged - 24%.
2. Changed a great deal in better understanding urban problems - 22%.
3. Changed in being more likely to go into public service as a result of the Urban Corps - 20%.

These three measures of change are ones we consider to be of the most importance and they will be the subject of this chapter. The three measures themselves are strongly interrelated. A person who indicated that he changed in relation to one of the areas is considerably more likely to indicate change in another. For example, one-half of those who said they changed a lot in understanding Urban problems also indicated that they changed on the other two dimensions. Seeing that change in one area is related to change in another area indicates the importance of the change. Many Internes changed on a number of different dimensions.

Let us briefly examine the relatively strong interrelation of the three measures:

1) Of the Internes who changed a great deal in understanding urban problems, 49% indicated a great deal of change in understanding problems of poverty, and 42% indicated change in the possibility of going into government service.

2) Of those who indicated a change in relation to understanding poverty, 45% indicated that they changed in relation to understanding urban problems but fewer (32%) indicated that they had changed in relation to government service. A person who indicated change in understanding urban problems is much more likely to change his mind in favor of government service.

3) Of those who indicated change in relation to the possibility of entering government service, 38% indicated that they understood urban problems better and 31% indicated that they understood poverty problems better.

Table 6.1

THE THREE TYPES OF CHANGE ARE HIGHLY INTERRELATED

Of the Internes who indicated they changed in relation to:	This percent indicated that they changed in relation to: Urban problems	Poverty	Government service
C-10b Urban problems	-	49%	42%
C-10g Poverty	45	-	32
C-11 Government service	38	31	-
Total all Internes	22%	24%	20%

Reads: Although only 24% of the Internes indicated that they had changed by becoming interested in the problems of poverty, 49% of those who had changed by better understanding urban problems also changed in relation to poverty.

Although the three types of change are fairly highly related, change in understanding urban problems is the best predictor of change in the other two dimensions. In each case, less than half who changed on one dimension indicated that they changed on the other two dimensions.

B. The correlates of change.

We have already seen that those who held good jobs were much more likely to report that they had changed on the three dimensions. Similarly those who felt that their job was appropriate for an Urban Corps Interne and those who would do the same sort of work again were also much more likely to change on all three dimensions. The good job is of crucial importance. Internes who reported that they had changed were not more likely to receive good ratings from their supervisors. As we will see, a problem with change is that those who are extremely highly committed to an idea may not change much as a result of a program, because they already held the attitude that the program sought to implant.

1. The success of the Urban Corps in achieving its goals.

Those who felt that the Urban Corps had been a success in achieving three of its principal goals were much more likely to change on each of the three dimensions. These three goals, in order of their importance in relation to change, are as follows:

1. Serving as an "Interneship" so that the Interne actually learned something.
2. Exposing the staff of city agencies to fresh ideas from new people.
3. Allowing the Interne to do something for people.

One-third of the Internes who said that the Urban Corps had done a very good job in allowing them to learn something indicated that they had changed a good deal on each of the three dimensions. Less than one-fifth of the Internes who felt the Urban Corps had done a poor job of allowing them to learn something felt they had changed.

We have said that there are three separate dimensions along which we can measure the success of the Urban Corps: the performance of the Internes as rated by their supervisors, job satisfaction, and self-reported change. We had seriously considered adding as an additional dimension whether or not the Internes felt that the Urban Corps had achieved its goals. Interestingly enough, change in the Interne and the Interne's perception of whether or not the Urban Corps achieved its goals are closely related. Those who felt they had changed were also much more likely to feel that the Urban Corps had achieved its important goals.

Table 6.2

WHEN THE URBAN CORPS DID A BETTER JOB OF ACHIEVING ITS GOALS, IT WAS ALSO MORE LIKELY TO CAUSE A CHANGE IN THE INTERNES

How good a job did the Urban Corps do in achieving the following goals:		Type of change C-10b Better understand urban problems	 C-10g More interested in the problems of poverty	 C-11 Possibility of government service as a result of the Urban Corps
D-1g Serving as an Interneship so that the Interne learned something				
Very good	(32%)	36%	38%	36%
Poor	(32%)	10	14	19
Difference		26%	24%	17%
D-1e Exposing the staff of city agencies to fresh ideas from new people				
Very good	(17%)	42%	43%	35%
Poor	(41%)	17	17	20
Difference		25%	26%	15%
D-1c Allowing the Interne to do something for people				
Very good	(32%)	36%	45%	30%
Poor	(27%)	15	22	23
Difference		21%	23%	7%

Reads: Of those Internes who felt that their agencies did a very good job in allowing them to learn something, 36% changed in understanding urban problems better. Only 10% of those who felt their agency had done a poor job in this respect changed in this fashion.

2. Caring about the work.

Although those who were rated as very good by their supervisors were no more likely to indicate that they had changed, there was one strong relationship between the supervisor's perception and the Interne's change. Those Internes whom the supervisors felt cared about their work were more likely to report change on all three dimensions.

3. The difficulty of the job.

Those who reported that their job called for someone with college training were more likely to change than those who felt a high school student could do the work. This is interesting. One would think that an Interne working in a program where he was exposed first-hand to poverty would be likely to feel that this had brought about a change in him, whether or not the work he was doing was demanding. That wasn't the case. Few of those who felt they were doing low-level work, even if they were exposed to poverty, felt that it had had much of an impact on them. Apparently, one has to be given a chance to do something meaningful. Simple exposure is not enough.

Table 6.3

THOSE WHO CARED ABOUT THEIR WORK, FOUND IT MORE DIFFICULT, AND FOUND IT TO BE RELATED TO THEIR CAREER WERE MORE LIKELY TO CHANGE

	Type of change		
Other responses of the Interne	C-10b Better understand urban problems	C-10g More interested in the problems of poverty	C-11 Possibility of government service as a result of the Urban Corps
Caring about the work			
A-3b Supervisor agrees strongly that Interne cares (69%)	27%	26%	34%
Less positive response (31%)	10	19	24
Difference	17%	7%	10%
Difficulty of the work			
A-3 Interne says: at least some college education is required for the job (67%)	31%	27%	35%
Less than high school is required (33%)	16	18	13
Difference	15%	9%	22%
Career relatedness of job			
A-24e Interne says assignment is: closely related to career plans (50%)	33%	33%	42%
Not at all related (42%)	20	20	18
Difference	13%	13%	24%

Reads: Twenty-seven percent of the Internes who were reported by their supervisors to care about their work changed in relation to urban problems, while only 10% of those who did not care changed.

4. The career-related assignment.

Few of the Internes indicated that their summer experience caused them to switch career plans. However, those who described their assignment as being closely related to their intended career were much more likely to change on the three dimensions we are investigating. At first glance, this is somewhat of a puzzle. One might expect that change would result from an Interne's doing something completely different from the type of work he intended to pursue for a career. Finding this work to his liking,he might develop new interests and change his career plans. This is not the pattern. Most of the Internes had a pretty clear idea of the type of work they wanted to do for a career. Their summer job, if related to their intended career, may have been their first actual career-related work. Because they already had a clear idea of what they wanted to do, their exposure solidified their original intentions. This did not prevent them from becoming more interested in urban problems and poverty. Although they didn't switch careers, many came to think of pursuing their career for a different type of employer - the government.

In Chapter 2 we pointed out that the Internes were much more interested in working with people and were much more idealistic than the average college student. The Urban Corps attracted students who already had an interest in poverty, urban problems, and the possibility of government service. Their change appears to have been the broadening of interests that already existed.

C. The causes of change.

1. Level of information.

Along with a number of other items of personal information that the questionnaire asked the Internes was the question:

> "Some people seem to think about what's going on in government all the time. Others aren't that interested. How often do you follow what's going on in government?"

Table 6.4

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS RELATED TO CHANGE

	Type of change		
Level of information	C-10b Better understand urban problems	C-10g More interested in the problems of poverty	C-11 Possibility of government service as a result of the Urban Corps
C-3 Follow news of government			
Seldom (13%)	35%	46%	34%
Sometime (37%)	22	28	30
All the time (49%)	22	17	24
Difference	13%	29%	10%
F-13 Grades last year			
C+ or less (27%)	24%	31%	32%
B or B- (39%)	24	24	27
A or B+ (27%)	22	21	21
Difference	2%	10%	11%
Sex of the Interne			
Women (33%)	30%	38%	33%
Men (65%)	20	18	24
Difference	10%	20%	9%
Occupation related to people			
C-6 Important that your career allow you to work with people rather than things			
Yes (66%)	25%	29%	31%
No (34%)	20	18	19
Difference	5%	11%	12%
F-21 Probable occupation			
Health, education (25%)	22%	36%	30%
Social science, law, humanities (46%)	28	24	28
Business, engineering, science (20%)	13	14	22

Reads: Where 30% of the women became more interested in urban problems, this was the case for only 20% of the men.

One-half checked the category "almost all the time." The Internes who indicated that they didn't follow news of the political process that closely were the ones who were the most likely to change. This was true for all three types of change, but most dramatically so in the case of developing an interest in the problems of poverty. One-half of those who seldom followed news of government became more interested in poverty, compared to only one out of six of those who said they followed the news of government almost all the time. The Urban Corps effected the greatest change in those Internes who had not previously paid much attention to government and politics. Presumably those who were interested in politics already knew a great deal about the war on poverty and therefore did not feel they were changed much by their Urban Corps experience.

The fact that those who were more informed changed less was not a factor of their year in school. Graduate students were no more likely than undergraduate students to change in regard to urban problems. Undergraduates were more likely than graduate students to increase their interest in the problems of poverty. However, graduate students were more likely than undergraduates to indicate that they might go to work for the government as a result of the Urban Corps.

Those with poor grades were slightly more likely to change. Although school grades did not affect the understanding of urban problems, those who reported lower grades were more likely to change on the other two dimensions. Those who had been less knowledgable were more likely to change.

2. The Interne's sex.

Women were much more likely to indicate change on each of the three dimensions. Approximately one-third of the women became more interested in urban problems, the problems of poverty, and more likely to take a government job. Only one-fifth of the men indicated each of these types of change. Why is this? Women were less likely to indicate that they followed what goes on in the government. Apparently they are less informed about the problems of the world and therefore more subject to change. It may well be that the women had been less exposed to the types of experience they encountered during the summer and that is why they changed to a greater degree.

3. An interest in people.

Those who indicated that it was important that their career allow them to work with people rather than things were more likely to change on each of the three dimensions. Here the differences were most marked in relation to poverty and the possibility of taking a government job. There was only a slight change in regard to understanding urban problems.

We previously saw that those who intended to go into careers in business, engineering, and science, which are the areas least likely to encompass work with people, were the least satisfied with their jobs. The Internes who intended to go into business, engineering or science were the least likely to change on the three dimensions.

In summary, we can see that two general factors tended to affect change. Those who had previously been less exposed were more likely to indicate change on all three dimensions. This included those who didn't follow news of politics,those with poorer grades, and women. Those who indicated that they wanted to work with people in their eventual occupation were more likely to indicate change.

There are a number of factors related to the agency that had a large bearing on satisfaction and some of these also affected the supervisors' ratings of the Internes. None of these agency variables had any bearing on whether or not the Internes underwent change.

Chapter 7

GOOD AND POOR AGENCIES

A. Rating the agencies.

In Chapter 3 we saw that almost all the Internes worked in one agency for the entire summer. In Chapter 4 we saw that factors related to the agency played a major role in Interne satisfaction. In this chapter we will examine the agencies to see which ones did a better job than others. Once the agencies are rated, we will seek to determine the characteristics of the good agencies.

There are two different methods by which the agencies could be rated:

1. By the questionnaire responses of Internes and supervisors.
2. By the reports submitted by the Urban Corps Field Staff which visited each of the agecnies to determine how things are working out and to help solve Internes' complaints.

In this section we will describe the results obtained from each of these two different rating procedures. We will then compare these results. If they are in substantial agreement we will have more confidence in each and be able to use either of them interchangably.

1. The agencies as rated by questionnaire responses.

There are only 13 city agencies for which we have completed questionnaires from 11 or more Internes. We would not attempt to characterize an agency on the basis of 10 or less questionnaires. We have questionnaires from 395 Internes in these 13 agencies and this represents 62% of our 634 Interne respondents. At nine of these 13 agencies we have completed questionnaires from supervisors of 11 or more Internes. These 13 agencies represent only about one-quarter of all the agencies in which Urban Corps Internes worked for the summer.

We have chosen seven items from the Interne's questionnaire and two

items from the supervisor's questionnaire to characterize each of these 13 agencies. Four of the seven items in the Interne's questionnaire were the ones that we used in the "goodness of job index" to characterize the Internes' jobs as good or poor. These questions asked if the job was interesting, satisfying, allowed for initiative, and kept the Interne busy.
We also selected questions which asked the Interne if he had a problem being over-qualified and if he thought his job was appropriate for an Interne. Finally, we used the question which asked the Interne if he thought his agency was open to new ideas. From the supervisor's questionniare we selected two items: asking how the Interne was rated and whether his job was interesting. (See Table 7.1.)

We have arranged the nine responses for each agency so that a high percentage is the better answer. For example, a high figure in response to question A-24b of the Internes' questionnaire (the question which asked if the assignment was interesting) is the positive one. On this particular question Head Start scored highest with 70% of the Internes reporting that they were very satisfied. Sanitation scored lowest with none of the Internes giving this answer. On most of the questions some of the agencies differed considerably from others. On eight out of the nine questions the highest agency differed from the lowest by approximately 40 percentage points or more.

To get a score for each agency, we have averaged each agency's responses to the nine questions. (For the four agencies where we do not have figures from the supervisors, the average is based only on the seven responses from the Internes.) We find that Head-Start has the highest average for all nine questions at 77% and the Department of Sanitation the lowest at 30%.

Table 7.1

URBAN CORPS AGENCY PROFILE

Interne's questionnaire	Head Start (N=56)	Correc- tions (12)	Youth Board (12)	Hospi- tals (96)	Mental health (48)	Parks (45	Hous- ing (11)
A7- Interne was fully occupied (had nothing to do nine hours a week or less)	96%	83%	62%	79%	81%	83%	77%
A24a- Very satisfied with assignment	63	62	58	48	45	26	22
A24b- Thought assignment very interesting	70	69	67	48	45	39	22
A28- Thought job appropriate for an Interne	96	85	92	72	66	75	69
A44k- Had no problem being over-qualified	90	75	67	57	46	71	50
B7- Had a chance to use initiative	85	92	92	79	64	79	79
B20a- Thought agency was very open to new ideas	42	46	18	33	43	32	20
Supervisor's questionnaire	(N=23)	(17)	(16)	(85)	(62)	(53)	(27)
A31- Supervisor strongly agreed that Interne had an interesting job	95%	65%	80%	69%	71%	71%	42%
A5- Supervisor rated the Interne's performance very good	58	71	69	59	57	46	44
Total average percent	77%	74%	66%	60%	57%	57%	56%
Score on BASR rating of Field Staff reports (Maximum=10)	10	10	10	5	10	10	4

Table 7.1 Urban Corps Agency Profile (cont'd)

Interne's questionnaire	Police (19)	Corporation Counsel (18)	Purchasing (11)	Highways (11)	Welfare (40)	Sanitation (16)	Total all agencies (634)
A7- Interne was fully occupied (had nothing to do nine hours a week or less)	85%	52%	93%	55%	68%	69%	78%
A24a- Very satisfied with assignment	48	35	29	27	9	6	39
A24b- Thought assignment very interesting	48	32	29	36	10	0	38
A28- Thought job appropriate for an Interne	78	86	58	46	43	41	68
A44k- Had no problem being over-qualified	58	68	58	13	32	50	48
B7- Had a chance to use initiative	81	76	55	50	47	29	68
B20a- Thought agency was very open to new ideas	35	26	22	38	11	8	25
Supervisor's questionnaire	(4)	(17)	(21)	(9)	(3)	(0)	(581)
A31- Supervisor strongly agreed that Interne has an interesting job	-	69%	29%	-	-	-	64%
A5- Supervisor rated the Interne's performance very good	-	71	55	-	-	-	58
Total average percent	54%	53%	47%	38%	34%	30%	56%
Score on BASR rating of Field Staff reports (Maximum=10)	9	8	9	4	3	2	7.3

The agencies tend to have consistent rankings on their responses to each of the nine questions. When we average the responses for each of the questions for the three highest ranking agencies and compare this to the average for the three agencies receiving the lowest total average percentage, we discover that on each of the nine questions, the agencies which rank higher in total are more likely to have positive responses.

Now that we have established that we have measures that differentiate the agencies on a consistent basis, let us look at what these ratings show. Our conclusions are three:

1. Most agencies did a good job. The median total average percent was 54%.
2. The agencies which did well were grouped fairly close to each other, being separated by only a few percentage points. No single agency or group of agencies did sharply better than others, rather, they ranged fairly close together on a sliding scale with no clear cutoff point. The median for all agencies was 54% and 10 out of the 13 are above or close to that figure, with Purchasing being the lowest in the average group at 47% - only seven percentage points lower than the median. Most agencies were either close to the average or better than the average.
3. Three of the agencies - Highways, Welfare and Sanitation - were considerably below average, with total average percents ranging from 30 to 38%. The total average percent of Internes in all agencies answering the questions positively was 54%. On only three questions did any one of the three poor agencies do this well.

Although 10 of the 13 agencies emerge as having been average or very good places to work, a small minority of three appear to have been relatively poor places in which to work. The fact that 10 out of 13 city agencies did a good job using people in a temporary situation in a large new program is commendable.

2. The agencies as rated by the Urban Corps Field Staff.

As we have mentioned the Urban Corps Field Staff operated out of the central office being made up of approximately 10 graduate students. Each Field Staff member was assigned to several agencies, and their assignment was two-fold:

1. To find out what was actually happening.
2. To attempt to correct unsatisfactory situations.

At the end of the summer the Field Staff members wrote reports on each agency. The reports varied in length and completeness with the ability of the individual Field Staff members and the complexity of the agency situation. The final reports which cover each agency fill a thick volume. We felt that this material might be able to be used in our analysis.

The Field Staff reports were expected to be evaluative and they were. We will quote from the reports on Correction and Highways.

From the Field Staff report on the Department of Correction.

> There has been a great deal of personal satisfaction on the part of both the students and the supervisors with the whole idea of the Urban Corps. The teaching and clinical psychology positions are excellent Interneships and in addition gratify the needs of many college students to help in some way to alleviate the most pressing social problems facing the city today. All supervisors have been very cooperative and eager to have more students working in the correctional institutions.

From the Field Staff report on the Department of Highways.

> The records retention program was misrepresented to the Urban Corps and these jobs were, naturally, filled on the basis of the description provided. Nonetheless, the problem was resolved in

> short order. The Internes assigned to this program were, for the most part, absorbed into other Highways operations. By and large, they were given clerical jobs in the central office. This has produced a happy interim sitaution, but one that is not ideal. Most of the students are in lower school years and not qualified for work of a too specific nature.

To get some idea of how accurate the Field Staff's observations were, Pamela Ween, a staff member of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, visited four agencies and interviewed supervisory personnel at a number of levels. She purposely selected two good agencies and two poor agencies on the advice of the Field Staff. The two good agencies were Marine and Aviation (from which we did not receive enough Internes' questionnaires to include in our statistical description of 13 agencies) and Correction (which ranked second on the basis of questionnaires from Internes and supervisors). The two poor agencies she selected were Highways and Sanitation which ranked 11th and 13th on our statistical breakdown of 13 agencies. (Bear in mind that these visits were made before the Internes had completed the questionnaires.)

We have reproduced four field reports (one from the Field Staff member and one from Miss Ween on both Correction and Highways) in their entirety in Appendix IV. A careful reading of the reports shows that Miss Ween was in close agreement with the two Urban Corps Field Staff members. Correction came off well in both accounts and Highways poorly. More important for our purposes is the fact that the reports of first-hand observers not only agree with each other but agree with the statistical picture presented by the questionnaire returns from Internes and their supervisors.

3. Comparing the ratings based on questionnaire responses and Field Staff reports.

In Section 2 we saw that the picture that emerged from reports submitted by the Field Staff corresponds quite well to the picture gotten from our study of questionnaire responses. One thing is quite clear, and that is that no agency is either all good or all bad. Although 10 of the agencies on which we have questionnaire responses came off as average or above, three are seen to be considerably poorer than the other 10. In all of the agencies there were at least a minority of Internes who were quite satisfied with their assignments.

There are two problems with using questionnaire responses to rate the agencies. First, because we have enough Internes in only 13 agencies, we miss more than one-third of the Internes and two-thirds of the agencies. Second, if we use the questionnaire responses to define whether an agency is good or bad, we cannot then, talk about the characteristics of good and bad agencies on the basis of their field reports.

Once we were satisfied the the four field reports we checked represented what was actually happening in the agencies, we decided to compare the Field Staff reports from the 13 agencies to the questionniare returns. We could use the 13 agencies to validate ratings based on field reports.

The Field Staff wrote reports on 47 city agencies. Each member of the Bureau staff of this research project - five people in all - was asked to read the 47 reports and rate each of the agencies as "good", "mixed" or "poor", using the following instructions:

> "Urban Corps field reports are to be used to judge whether individual agencies were good, bad, or mixed environments for the provision of satisfying and generally educational experiences for summer Internes of the Urban Corps. Judgments should be based on the attitudes of the agency's staff, the kinds of work performed, and the satisfaction of the Internes. Attention should be given to the fact that the reports were done by generally inexperienced young professionals and are biased by a rather elevated view of what an Interneship for an undergraduate could or should be."

When an agency was judged by one of our readers to be a good agency he assigned it a score of two. Similarly, agencies that the readers of the reports felt to be poor were assigned a score of zero. Agencies that appeared to be equally good and bad, or agencies which could not be rated on the basis of the Field Staff report were assigned a score of one. Each of the five raters repeated the procedure for all 47 Field Staff reports.

There was substantial agreement among the raters. If a given rater had assigned each of the 47 agencies a rating of good and given it a score of two, the total would have been 94. The total scores allotted by each rater were in the narrow range from 64 to 71. On none of the 235 separate ratings did one rater call an agency good and another call it poor. The disagreements, although few in number, concerned agencies that were rated good by one rater and mixed by another, or poor by one and mixed by another.

The highest score that an agency could receive on the basis of ratings of the field reports was 10 (five raters times a score of two for good). Twenty-one out of the 47 agencies received such a perfect score, being rated as good places to work by all the five raters who read the field report. Seven more agencies received scores of eight or nine. We classified these 28 agencies as good agencies. Six agencies received total scores of five, six or seven, and we defined these as mixed agencies. Thirteen of the agencies received a score of four or less, and we defined these as poor agencies. We divided the 47 agencies into the three groups on the basis of the natural distribution of the scores which resulted from the five ratings.

We then returned to the 13 agencies for which we have two sets of ratings which are independent of each other: the description based on questionnaire responses and the ratings of field reports by five judges.

When we look at the two ends of the continuum, we find that there is substantial agreement. On the basis of questionnaire responses three agencies stood out as being considerably above the others - Head Start, Correction and the Youth Board, with total average percentages of 77, 74 and 66% respectively. On the basis of field reports, all five raters rated these three agencies as good places in which to work. Consequently, each of these three agencies received a score of 10 - the highest possible score.

When we looked at the three agencies that ranked lowest on the basis of questionnaire returns, there is the same high degree of correspondence with the ratings of field reports. Highways, Welfare and Sanitation ranked lowest on the basis of questionnaire responses. None of these agencies received a rating of good by any of those who read the field reports and no other agencies ranked lower than these three on the basis of field report ratings. Interestingly enough, the exact order was also duplicated hence the agencies scored in the following fashion: Highways- 4; Welfare- 3; Sanitation- 2.

When we compare the ratings made on the two separate bases for the 13 agencies(which we rated on the basis of questionnaires), we see that only two cases were there discrepancies. Hospitals scored relatively high on the basis of questionnaire responses ending up in fourth position. It received a mixed rating on the basis of the field report and this placed it in ninth place out of the 13 agencies, with a score of 5 . out of a possible 10. Conversely, Purchasing ranked 10th out of 13 on the basis of questionnaire responses, but was sixth on the basis of the field report, with a score of 9 out of a possible 10.

When we compare the two ranks statistically, we find that there is quite a high degree of association. The Spearman Rank Order Correlation for the 13 agencies ranked on the two measures is .73.

Because there is such high agreement on the two different measures for the 13 agencies which we rated by two independent procedures, we feel it is safe to say that the Field Staff report is usually a valid measure of whether or not an agency was a good place to work. Furthermore our rating of these reports is an adequate method of determining whether the report writer thought the agency was a good or poor place for an Urban Corps Interne to work.

B. The differences between good and poor agencies.

Based on the Field Staff reports we have broken the 47 agencies down into those that were rated as good, mixed, and poor. The agencies and their Internes and supervisors break down as follows:

Table 7.2

ON THE BASIS OF THE FIELD REPORTS, THE MAJORITY OF THE AGENCIES WERE GOOD PLACES IN WHICH TO WORK

Rating by field reports	Number of agencies	Percent of all 47 agencies	Percent of all Internes in these agencies	Percent of all supervisors in these agencies
Good	28	60%	56%	63%
Mixed	6	12	21	21
Poor	13	28	23	16
Total	47	100%	100%	100%

By comparing the questionnaire responses from the Internes and supervisors of good agencies to those from poor agencies, we can draw a profile of the good agency. Similarly, we can see what kind of effects (if any) the good agency might have had that the poor agency did not.

Using Chi-Square as our statistic and the .01 level of significance as our cut-off point, there are a large number of differences between good and poor agencies which we have summarized under seven separate headings:

1. The job is of a higher level and more challenging.

The biggest single difference between good agencies and poor agencies is that the Internes in the poor agencies are much more likely to report that their jobs were not demanding. Both Internes and supervisors in the good agencies are much more likely to say that a college education is required for the job. Furthermore, the Internes in the poor agencies more frequently cite being over-qualified for the job as a problem.

We have previously seen that one of the highest correlates of job satisfaction is the academic level required of the job and the challenge presented by it. We get a chance to see this in action when we compare Correction to Highways. Internes who worked in Correction taught inmates and did other jobs which also required a high level of ability. Those in Highways working in records retention were doing jobs that could have well been done by persons who hadn't graduated from high school. When we compare the Internes in all the better agencies to those agencies rated less highly, we see that the principle difference is in the academic level required for the job and the challenge it offers. The Urban Corps was a program conceived of as an opportunity for college students to use their special skills and to learn something from the city. The agencies that offered low-level jobs wound up with disappointed students.

2. Internes in the good agencies were much more likely to feel the Urban Corps had accomplished its goals.

In Chapter 3 we described the answers to the battery of questions which asked:

> "As far as your personal experiences are concerned, how good a job do you think the Urban Corps is doing in achieving its goals?"

The battery contained seven different items. The Internes in the good agencies

Table 7.3

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GOOD AND POOR AGENCIES RATED ON THE BASIS OF FIELD STAFF REPORTS

Questions		Good agencies (318 Internes and 296 supervisors)	Mixed agencies (116 Internes and 99 supervisors)	Poor agencies (134 Internes and 74 supervisors)	Difference
Challenge of job.					
A-24c	I find that my assignment is very difficult/reasonable-within my experience and competence	56%	43%	23%	33%
A-3	Some college or more is required for my job	50	40	25	25
	Score of four items on goodness of job index	34	34	10	24
A-44k	Being overqualified for the job is not a problem for me	67	56	45	22
A-39	I have not complained to the Urban Corps staff about aspects of my job other than pay	77	76	63	14
A-6	Supervisor thinks that some college was required for the Interne's job	83	58	71	12
Success of the Urban Corps.					
D-1c	The Urban Corps is doing a very good job of allowing Internes to serve people	43	43	12	31
D-1d	The Urban Corps is doing a very good job of broadening the Interne's educational experience	47	51	25	22
D-1g	The Urban Corps is doing a very good job in providing me an "Interneship" through which I can actually learn something	41	41	22	19

Table 7.3
The Difference Between Good and Poor Agencies (cont'd)

Questions		Good agencies (318 Internes and 296 supervisors)	Mixed agencies (116 Internes and 99 supervisors)	Poor agencies (134 Internes and 74 supervisors)	Difference
Success of Urban Corps (cont'd)					
D-1b	The Urban Corps is doing a very good job of achieving its goal of helping Internes to learn more about how New York City operates	30%	23%	18%	12%
D-1e	The Urban Corps is doing a very good job of exposing the staff of city agencies to fresh ideas from new people	23	17	12	11
D-1f	The Urban Corps is doing a very good job of helping to get needed work done	30	40	19	11
Satisfaction with the job.					
A-3i	Supervisor strongly agrees that the Interne's work is interesting	70	70	41	29
A-24b	My assignment is very interesting	46	46	18	28
B-7	I have a chance to exercise initiative on the job	79	78	52	27
B-6	I have made suggestions to people in authority in my agency	76	63	51	25
A-3g	Supervisor strongly agrees that Interne showed initiative	66	61	45	21
A-28	I feel that my present job is an appropriate job for an Urban Corps Interne	77	70	56	21
A-24a	I am very satisfied with my assignment	44	46	25	19
A-3h	Supervisor strongly agrees that the Interne had a chance to show initiative	78	80	60	18
A-51	I would work for the Urban Corps again doing the same work I am doing now	76	76	62	14

Table 7.3
The Difference Between Good and Poor Agencies (cont'd)

Questions		Good agencies (318 Internes and 296 supervisors)	Mixed agencies (116 Internes and 99 supervisors)	Poor agencies (134 Internes and 74 supervisors)	Difference
Career relatedness.					
A-24e	I find that my assignment is reasonably/very closely related to my career plans	62%	56%	35%	27%
A-24d	I find that my assignment is reasonably/very closely related to my present or future studies	66	61	42	24
Factors related to the agency.					
B-1d	My agency provided the opportunity to attend agency staff meetings	46	29	17	29
B-20b	My agency is not highly bureaucratic	65	59	42	23
A-3j	Supervisor like the Interne personally	82	72	61	21
B-20a	My agency is somewhat/very open to new ideas	82	80	63	19
A-35	I was not given a piece of paper describing my first job this summer	62	74	46	16
B-4	Supervisor says that the Interne had an impact on the agency	53	31	37	16
Effectiveness.					
A-3d	Supervisor strongly agrees that Interne cares about his work	76	72	53	23
A-5	Supervisor rates Interne's performance as very good	63	65	47	16
Change.					
C-11	I may go to work for the government and my experience in the Urban Corps has been a positive factor in this regard	33	28	16	17
C-10g	I have changed in that I am more interested in the problems of the poor and disadvantaged	59	61	46	13

were significantly more likely to feel that Urban Corps had accomplished six out of seven of its goals. The Internes in the poor agencies were no less likely to feel that the Urban Corps had been a success in allowing them to earn money for school next year. On each of the other six items there was a difference.

The biggest difference between the good and the poor agencies was that those in the good agencies were more likely to feel that the Urban Corps had allowed them to do something for people. Next in degree of difference came the two questions which asked the Internes if they had learned something. The Internes in the good agencies were considerably more likely to feel that the Urban Corps had broadened their educational experience and served as an Interneship so that they learned something. The Internes in the good agencies were also more likely to feel they had learned something about how New York City operates, that the city had gotten needed work done, and the staffs of city agencies had been exposed to fresh ideas from new people.

As we mentioned in the Introduction, one of the most interesting aspects of the Urban Corps program was that it was a resounding success in certain areas and a failure in others. Throughout this report we have seen which kind of individuals with which kinds of jobs were more satisfied. Here we see that the factors which led to the Urban Corps being a success or failure differed so from agency to agency that those in the good agencies (which made up the majority of agencies) were significantly more likely to feel that the Urban Corps achieved its objectives.

3. Internes in the good agencies were much more satisfied with their jobs.

There were significant differences between the good and the poor agencies on three of the four items that went into our "goodness of job index" and on a number of other items that differentiated satisfying from unsatisfying jobs. Internes in good agencies were much more likely to classify their jobs as very interesting and very satisfying and they were much more likely to have exercised initiative.

The one item that we used in our"goodness of job index"that did not differ significantly between good and poor agencies was the idleness question. Internes in good agencies were no more likely to be busy all the time than Internes in poor agencies. Our findings here indicate that although it may be necessary to be fully utilized, it is not sufficient. A number of the Internes in poor agencies were busy all the time and there were Internes in good agencies who were not fully utilized.

Internes in good agencies were also more likely to say that they had made a suggestion to someone in authority, that their job was appropriate for an Interne, and that they would do the same job again. Internes in good agencies were less likely to have complained to the Urban Corps staff.

4. Jobs in the good agencies were much more likely to be related to studies and career plans.

There seems to have been better placement in the good agencies. The Internes in good agencies were more likely to say that their jobs related both to their studies and to their intended careers. We have seen that the jobs in the good agencies were of a higher academic level and were more challenging than those in the poorer agencies. It seems likely that the job that is of a higher level academically has a greater chance of being related to one's studies or one's anticipated career. We have seen that almost all the Internes were either pursuing an advanced graduate degree or intended to go to graduate school. We have previously seen that the placement program was good enough that the majority of Internes held jobs that were.

reasonably related to their scholastic major or their career plans. We now see that this was quite important in that it was a major difference between good and poor agencies.

5. The good agencies differed from the poor in both their practices and how they were perceived by the Internes.

One of the largest statistical differences between the good and the poor agencies revolved about the opportunity to attend staff meetings. Nearly one-half of the Internes in the good agencies said that their agency provided them the opportunity to attend agency staff meetings compared to only one in six of the Internes in the poor agencies. Furthermore, the Internes in the good agencies were considerably more likely to say that their agencies were not highly bureaucratic and that they were very open to new ideas.

There was one difference between the good and the poor agencies in the opposite direction of what might have been expected. The Internes in the poor agencies were considerably more likely to have been given a written description of their first job, and their agencies were more likely to have provided an orientation session for all Internes in the agency. We would have thought that each of these things was desirable. It may well have been that it was those agencies which had a large number of Internes doing the same kind of work (such as the Internes in records retention program in Highways) that were more likely to provide written job descriptions and orientation sessions. The agencies which assigned Internes to more individualistic types of work didn't go through these formalities. In any event, we see that in this first year of the program the good agencies were less likely to provide orientation sessions and written job descriptions.

6. The good agencies differ from the poor in relation to effectiveness as rated by the supervisors.

The ratings the Internes received from their supervisors differ in a number of ways between the good and the poor agencies, and the Internes in the good agencies were more likely to be rated very good. The supervisors in the good agencies were also considerably more likely to report that the Internes cared about their work. Furthermore, the supervisors in the good agencies were more likely to say Internes had had an impact on their agency. The supervisors in good agencies were more positive about their Internes on a number of dimensions.

7. There was a mixed response on change.

We have previously seen that the Internes had a number of opportunities to report on changes they felt had occurred as a result of their summer with the Urban Corps. We singled out three important types of change that had occurred in about one-fifth of the Internes. The good agencies differed from the poor on two of these. The Internes in the good agencies had become more interested in the problems of the poor and the disadvantaged. They had also changed regarding the possibility of government service. Good agencies didn't differ from poor ones in relation to understanding urban problems better.

8. Good and poor agencies had the same types of Internes.

Although we have found a number of differences between good agencies and poor agencies, each had about the same sorts of people assigned to them. Possibly because the majority of the agencies were rated good, it just wasn't possible for differential assignment to result. What we found is that the good agencies were no more likely to have graduate students, students with good grades, those who had been campus leaders, or those with more outgoing, friendly personalities. Since the good agencies did not differ from the poor in relation to the types of Internes assigned to them, we conclude that the substantial differences that we did find between good and poor agencies were the result of factors in the agencies and not of factors related to the Internes themselves.

Although we saw at the outset that the Internes differ from one another on a number of important dimensions and that some of these factors affected their satisfaction with the situation, the amount that they reported they changed, and the rating they got from their supervisors, none of these factors related to individual differences are sufficient to explain the substantial differences that we have found between the good and poor agencies.

We were curious as to whether some of the relationships that we had reported on earlier in the study were the result of differences between good and poor agencies rather than the result of real causal factors in and of themselves. We wondered, for example, if the relationship between having some choice of job and satisfaction with the job was due to the fact that most of those who had some choice were in the better agencies. In that case it would have been the good agency that contributed to satisfaction with the job and not having had some choice of job. When we controlled for type of agency, we found that the relationship still held. In other words, Internes who had some choice in picking their jobs in poor agencies were considerably more likely to be satisfied with their jobs than Internes who had no choice in poor agencies. However, those who had some choice in good agencies were more likely to be satisfied than those with choice in poor agencies. Both the agency context and the choice of job contributed to the Internes' satisfaction.

Table 7.4

BOTH HAVING CHOICE IN THE SELECTION OF ONE'S JOB AND BEING IN A GOOD AGENCY CONTRIBUTE TO SATISFACTION

	Percent who were very satisfied with their assignment (A-24a)			
	How was the agency rated on the basis of Field Staff reports?			
B-3 How much choice did the Interne feel he had in choosing his job?	Good	Mixed	Poor	Total
Some choice	57%	62%	46%	52%
No choice	31	28	14	25
Total all Internes	44%	46%	25%	39%

Reads: In the agencies which were rated as good, when the Interne felt he had some choice in selecting his job, 57% were very satisfied with their jobs. When Internes in good agencies felt they had no choice, only 31% were very satisfied; however they were considerably more satisfied than the Internes in poor agencies who had no choice, only 14% ofwhom were very satisfied with their assignments.

We have seen that there were major differences between agencies that were rated good and poor in their handling of Urban Corps Internes. Now that we know that many of the differences that occurred in the Urban Corps' first summer program were the result of real difference between agencies, let us take a closer look at several of the agencies to see if we can determine what caused a given agency's program to be good or poor.

Chapter 8

WHY WERE SOME AGENCIES GOOD AND OTHERS POOR?

For a clue as to what caused the differences between agencies, let us turn again to the 13 city agencies on which we have most information. We will examine in detail the three best agencies and the three poorest agencies.

A. Three good agencies.

1. Head Start.

We saw from the answers to the nine questionnaire items (Table 7.1) that Head Start ranked as best of all the 13 agencies on which we have questionnaires from 11 or more Urban Corps Internes. Head Start Internes were dispersed throughout the city. Consequently it is difficult to find out exactly what happened. Specifically there were 90 Internes assigned to Head Start, 80 as assistant teachers and 10 in administrative positions. The 80 teaching Internes were placed in over 30 private Head Start agencies throughout the city. We will quote directly from the Urban Corps Field Staff report on the Head Start program to get some picture of what caused the agency to be such a success.

> "As everyone knows, Head Start has been burdened with tremendous administrative difficulties. The only problems faced by Internes, however, were lack of pay and assignments far from home. Apart from these by no means minor difficulties, Internes were almost unanimous in reporting intense satisfaction in their very demanding jobs. The only necessary qualifications for these positions are patience, love for children, and a desire to do some good. Head Start provided an intensive training program at the beginning of the summer and several seminars are now in progress.
>
> The 10 administrative positions are interesting and varied, some quite responsible, and all provide valuable experience in working with people. Here again, little experience beyond a certain maturity is necessary."

In looking at the nine questionnaire items contained in Table 7.1 we see that the Head Start Internes rated highest because their answers were the most positive of all 13 agencies on seven of the nine questions. Head Start appears to have been a success because of the type of work done and the initiative allowed the Internes.

2. Department of Correction.

After the analysis of the questionnaires was completed, we paid another visit to Correction in an effort to determine why the program there had been so successful. This brief report combines material from the two field reports done during the summer and the series of visits made later in the fall.

Correction has had a chronic shortage of personnel because of low pay and unattractive working conditions and has traditionally been under-budgeted particularly for the rehabilitation programs which it attempts to carry on.

Since the advent of Commissioner Anna Kross in 1954, efforts for rehabilitation services within Correction have multiplied by a factor of 10 judged both by budget and by personnel. Nevertheless there has been a consistent shortage of personnel and many programs have suffered. Since taking over in 1954 Commissioner Kross had consistently attempted to bring to the attention of outsiders the needs and the opportunities of the department and had attempted to enlist volunteer efforts for the department. She viewed volunteers as a help in the personnel shortage and as a way of stimulating interest in the department.

In this way a number of local colleges such as CCNY and Queensborough College had begun programs under which students would work in various institutions of the Department of Correction as a part of their regular course work. Other organizations such as New York City Youth Corps and the African Corps were utilized to supply some manpower for Correction. The rehabilitation section of the Department of Correction particularly utilized a great many such personnel in this way over the last several years.

The result has been much experience by the supervisory personnel of the Department of Correction in utilizing and integrating part-time help into the normal routine of the department. Since much of this help was professional or semi-professional in nature, Correction was used to and expected a fairly high level of competence from such workers. In addition Dr. D. of the Rehabilitation Section had instituted a system of weekly written reports by part-time workers directly to the administrative staff of the department. Workers were encouraged to make suggestions and were assured that they would be considered by the department. Part-time workers also consistently attended staff meetings and were shown that their opinions were valued. All in all the Internes worked in situations designed to utilize their skills and to accomplish real work which was needed by the department.

In the Spring of 1966 new budgetary economies by the Lindsay administration made it plain to the officials of the Department of Correction that they would not be able to employ their normal summer help for various programs. This help usually replaced staff on vacation during the summer. The shortage might have been particularly serious in the area of education and rehabilitation. When the new commissioner of the Department of Correction, Commissioner McGrath and other high officials of the department heard of the formation of the Urban Corps they saw it as a way to supply the personnel which otherwise would be lacking during the summer of 1966.They sent in an early request to the Urban Corps for at least 50 people. They developed their own jobs within the department with the aid of the Personnel Department or the Urban Corps staff itself. Ultimately about 25 Urban Corps Internes were employed in various sections of the department and in various locations such as the main office at 100 Center Street, The Women's House of Detention in Manhattan, the Brooklyn House of Detention, and Rikers Island. They were placed in such fields as engineering, education, recreation, social service, mental health, personnel, law and medicine.

The program at Correction began promptly in early June. Internes who had been sent by the Urban Corps were interviewed at the personnel office and sent to individual supervisors on the basis of their interests and experience. At the site they were interviewed by the supervisor and if the job was mutually agreeable the Interne was placed. Almost no Internes turned down positions with Correction and almost all who accepted remained in the program till its end.

Orientation to the job was not conducted formally, but took the shape of on-the-job training. In some cases Internes were closely supervised for as much as three weeks before they were allowed to do the job on their own. In general they seemed to have been accepted as full-fledged co-workers doing an essential job. All in the Rehabilitation Section were asked to send written reports to Dr. D. and this was done on a regular basis throughout the program.

Interviews with the administrative staff and the supervisors of Correction indicate that they were uniformly pleased with the quality of Internes placed and with the character of their work. They were eager for a continuation of the program during the winter and for its repetition during the coming summer. This was particularly true in the Rehabilitation Section where the program was outstanding.

Some of the comments of members of the Correction staff in interviews with our researchers may be indicative of the atmosphere within the department.

> A supervisor said, "From what I can see and what I have heard they're doing an excellent job. To see their sparkling eyes and smiles I think they have accomplished something for themselves and the inmates, too."

> Mrs. S., the Education Supervisor at the Women's House of Detention, told me that the three Internes she had were fine girls. "They could work with or without supervision. They are very creative and responsible. They will make fine teachers. They have been dealing with difficult young women who've had difficulties with school. They work very well with the young groups. We were sceptical at first. It turned our fantastically well. The inmates love them. They are able to motivate and stimulate them. They even started a newspaper... By and large, this is a very wonderful program, and there is an actual need for this program to continue."
>
> The Internes are performing a unique service. "They are doing things that I only dreamt could be done before." She told me the girls are constantly working to attract the inmates, she also told me more inmates have been coming to the school program than ever before. Most of the inmates have had trouble in school and did not like school and for the first time were really excited about school.

When we look at Table 7.1, we see that Correction ranked second on the basis of the nine questions because it was consistently high on all items but two. Correction Internes were only fourth highest reporting that they thought their jobs were appropriate for an Interne, and the supervisors were only average in reporting that the Internes had an interesting job. Apparently the work, although extremely interesting, was no more interesting than other work of similar sorts done by outsiders in Correction. Although the supervisors were only average in reporting that the work was interesting, they gave their Internes the highest average rating of any department,which indicates that the satisfaction that was found at all levels was genuine.

Considering the highly structured and rigorous nature of penal institutions and organizations,it is quite remarkable that over half of the Internes believed that they had been successful in exposing the Department of Correction to new ideas and 42% saw it as less than highly bureaucratic.

They perceived the jobs as highly individualized, half reporting that no other Internes were doing the same work at the same place as themselves. About a third had had an opportunity to meet other Internes in the agency to discuss mutual problems and experiences. Three-quarters had been given no regular orientation session by the department and only one-half had received a written job description.

As a result of the experience, a high 75% of the Internes felt that the Urban Corps experience had been a success allowing them to do something for people and broadening their educational horizons. Three-quarters had also become more interested in the mission of the agency which is something Correction valued highly. Almost 70% were now more interested in problems of poverty.

All in all the Urban Corps program at the Department of Correction must be considered an outstanding success whether measured by the attitude of the Internes or by the people for whom they worked. At a cursory glance, such a situation would seem full of pitfalls, but the Department's long established methods of meeting the difficulty of bringing in new and temporary people and educating its officials and methods of handling such problems made for a very high degree of success.

3. Youth Board.

Our only information on the Youth Board comes from the Urban Corps field staff report which we will quote directly:

> "The Youth Board requested both secretaries and clerical workers and tutorial aids. The secretarial and clerical positions either weren't filled or the Internes that took these jobs quickly left. The Internes in the Youth Board consisted primarily of 18 tutorial aids used as tutorial assistants in a remedial reading program. They taught English and some math to dropouts trying to pass their high school equivalency exam, and to students in school in need of remedial training. Most of the clients are from depressed social and economic backgrounds.
>
> The tutorial aids received approximately one day of general orientation during which time they were familiarized with the remedial instruction kit. The rest of their training was on the job.

> The Internes worked both days and evenings - depending on when the clients can make their classes - in 22 outlying neighborhood offices. The director of the program said he was very pleased with the Internes and the program in general. He said that although he never received his quota of tutorial aids he could use from 40 to 50 next summer. Also he prefers to have upper-classmen with some training or interest.

The Urban Corps Field Staff member interviewed 14 of the 18 tutorial aids, and found them generally quite satisfied with their work. He recommende that the Youth Board be given as many Internes as they could accommodate because "the tutorial program is a good one with considerable educational value."

We have seen that the situation in the Youth Board was generally excellent. Let us look at how the Urban Corps Field Staffer handled one job that had not worked out well:

> "A woman graduate student in art entered the program late and requested that she be allowed to work with people in some capacity. She was placed in the Youth Board as a part-time receptionist. She was not terribly upset about the receptionist job, but did not feel she was being very useful since most of her time was spent sitting around.
>
> I spoke with her supervisor who said that were not any more responsible positions available and that she needed a receptionist. I brought the girl into the Urban Corps office and found her a job in mental health. She seemed to be very happy with her new placement. The Youth Board supervisor understood the problem and was quite willing to let the girl go."

When we looked at the questionnaire responses to the nine items, both Head Start and Correction were high on almost all of the items. This is not the case with the Youth Board. The situation was more uneven. Although the Youth Board ranked highest of all agencies in giving the Interne a chance to use initiative, it was among the lowest in two other items. The Youth Board ranked 11th out of 13 in having Internes who were unoccupied a considerable portion of the time. Only 62% of the Internes in the Youth

Board indicated that they were busy all or most of the time, compared to 96% of the Internes at Head Start and 78% of the Internes in all agencies. Similarly, the Youth Board ranked near the lowest in being viewed as being open to new ideas. Only one in five of the Internes in the Youth Board thought it was very open to new ideas, compared to nearly half of the Internes in Correction, and one out of four of the Internes in all agencies. Although the work was interesting and required initiative, the situation was apparently quite restrictive. The Youth Board is an interesting agency because of its variation in rank from measure to measure.

B. Three poor agencies.

1. Department of Highways.

Highways had a great deal of trouble with the records retention program in which the students felt overqualified, but they had some students apparently successfully employed doing technical work related to engineering but of a rather low level. The report which follows is based on the field reports and on subsequent visits to Highways which were made after we had analyzed the questionnaire returns and were attempting to determine why Highways came out on the low side.

This is a new agency formed in 1963 and first fully operational in the year 1964. Highways operations are primarily technical. The agency was formed from a number of independent units located in the various boroughs of New York City and one of the problems since its inception has been integration of both personnel and records from the borough locations.

Since its consolidation, it has participated in a large number of job programs for unskilled youth and welfare clients of the city. One of these was the cooperative educational trainee program in collaboration with the Board of Education. About 30 students from city high schools go to school for one week and work the following week in Highways, serving thus alternately through the school term. These students hold jobs as clerks, typists, stenographers and engineering aids.

A second group of temporary workers in Highways are welfare adults. About 20 such positions exist but fewer have been filled from welfare rolls. This program was undertaken in order to provide persons on welfare with skills with which may be utilized in the job market and so ultimately alleviate the load on welfare.

Still another type of program is constituted of the various poverty programs such as JOIN and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. These youth, usually of ninth grade level have been employed by the department for the past two summers for about 30 hours a week. In 1965 there were about 400 but this number fell off to about 100 in 1966. Most of these youth are employed in groups doing manual labor out of doors.

Two other programs in which Highways has participated are the African Corps program which supplied Africans with work experience in technical specialities in various city departments, and the College Work-Study program from which Highways has obtained a number of students through direct collaboration with colleges independent of the Urban Corps.

Some Highways administrators felt that it already had a large load of temporary and unskilled help in its various programs. Not everyone was keen to participate in the Urban Corps. It seems entirely likely that a very large number of its already developed job slots had been allocated to many of the aforementioned programs. As a relatively new agency it probably lacked the administrative staff and had not developed procedures to handle all of these programs and to take on the Urban Corps.

Highways was late in getting started in planning for the Urban Corps.

It submitted the first job requests in May, 1966, just a month before the Urban Corps program was scheduled to begin. Under the gun it developed what probably must be regarded as a stop-gap program in records retention. Altogether Highways asked for 40 to 50 Urban Corps Internes and probably approximately that number were referred to the agency. Some who were referred didn't take jobs with the department. As the result of some difficulties which will be alluded to, a number quit and by mid-August of 1966, 31 Internes were working in Highways.

Generally when the Interne reported to the department he was seen by the Director of Personnel in a brief interview and then referred to his secretary who sent the Interne to the division for which the director felt him to be best fitted. The Interne then reported to the supervisor who in most cases seemed to assume that he had to accept the Interne as a worker. During most of the summer, an Interne from the Urban Corps was utilized to handle payroll, transfers and many other problems which thus may not have come to the attention of the personnel director of other administrative officers.

The four basic job areas developed by the agency were:

1. A records retention program for which the agency requested social science majors (such as historians). to determine which old records of the Department should be retained. Many of these records were very old and stored in dirty locations at various points in the five boroughs. The Urban Corps personnel, 17 of whom were assigned to this operation, were making $2.00 an hour and more compared to $1.50 an hour made by the regular staff. Friction was inevitable and much hostility resulted. Ultimately most Urban Corps people were transferred from this operation and by the end of the summer only four remained in it. It was passed to anti-poverty youth who reportedly were not happy with the job either. The program as originally conceived would have involved a history professor from a local college and an actual search for records of historical value. This fell through and the nature of the work changed from scholarly to manual.

2. The second area was the Engineering Department in which 14 freshmen and sophomore students in engineering worked as engineering aides chiefly in the main office.

3. Six of the Urban Corps Internes served in secretarial and clerical capacities in the main office.

4. Eight Internes were used to supervise "poverty" youth in labor gangs doing outside maintenance work in various locations in the five boroughs.

Conversations with various administrative and supervisory personnel in Highways showed that there was general confusion as to which youth were Urban Corps Internes. The Urban Corps was not viewed by most personnel as anything very special and Internes were at least initially treated by agency personnel very much like the low level poverty youths and adults to whom they were accustomed. It should be said that this was perhaps only a temporary difficulty in most situations but it would certainly affect the initial reception and assignment of the Urban Corps Internes.

In some parts of the agency the relatively low pay of the regular staff was a point of difficulty. Many workers resented the fact that they had to take tests and enter lists to qualify for lower salaries than temporary youth such as the Urban Corps got with seemingly little difficulty.

In general where Urban Corps Internes were supervised by professiona personnel such as engineers, the program was a success in the eyes of the supervisors. In sections where the level of skill and responsibility was somewhat less as in the operating sections, there was much unhappiness about Urban Corps program and much resentment of it.

The attitudes of Internes as revealed in the return of 11 questionnaires from those who worked in Highways showed that only 12% did not feel in some sense overqualified for their jobs. This was the lowest of all the 13 agencies. Less than one-half felt that the jobs which they occupied were appropriate for Internes, only one-quarter thought that the jobs were of college level and were satisfied with them.

On seven of the nine items on the Internes' questionnaire, Highways Internes were considerably below average. However, about an average number (36%) thought that their assignments were very interesting. These were probably the engineering and technical personnel. In two of the three poor agencies, at least a portion of the Internes were fairly satisfied with their jobs and found them interesting. What we found is that although most of the Internes in the good agencies were happy, not all the Internes in the poor agencies were unhappy.

2. Department of Welfare.

The Department of Welfare is a large and highly bureaucratic agency. It employs many professional and semi-professional workers but turnover is very high and it suffers from a chronic shortage of personnel. The recurrent crises which it faces have led to much employee dissatisfaction and resulted in a strong and militant union movement.

Its administration is somewhat decentralized with local offices throughout the five boroughs acting as primary controls in the allotment of funds and services. The very large amounts of money which it spends are strictly mandated by law and department regulation. It is extremely rule-oriented because many of its programs are highly restricted as to eligibility. The nature of its work exposes it to public scrutiny and makes it very sensitive to charges of irregularity in its operations.

In early 1966 a new administration took over in the Department of Welfare and, on first contact, its upper echelons were very enthusiastic about the Urban Corps program. The lower echelons were obviously less enthusiastic, being much more oriented to the routine operation of the agency. The implementation of the program within the agency for the Urban Corps seems to have been turned over to one young man in the personnel section who took on the job of contacting all parts of the department and finding jobs for the proposed Internes. Ultimately requests were submitted to the Urban Corps for about 140 Internes. Communication within the department was obviously not good and communication between the Urban Corps and Welfare was beset by many misunderstandings. For example, after the program was initiated, the department requested "Internes drawn from schools of social work to assist professional workers." In assigning personnel, the Urban Corps put the emphasis on competence in the social sciences as the criterion for assignment, while the department emphasis was on the type of "school" which it felt to be necessary for professional preparation. Since most of the Internes assigned had the disciplinary qualifications but lacked the professional school background, the agency decided that they could not be used in the proposed area and most Internes were put into routine clerical jobs which did not utilize their academic backgrounds.

In the Department of Welfare rules specifying who may approach and work with clients are highly restrictive and mandated by law. Considerable training of new personnel is necessary before they are allowed to embark upon their duties. To the department it did not seem worthwile to train summer employees in this for which there was a sore need of help. In sections of the agency where legal restrictions on contact with the public did not apply (as in centers for the elderly), Internes worked directly with people and responded to their jobs with energy and satisfaction.

The Department of Welfare had a number of other summer programs involving temporary employees. There were high school students on cooperative education programs, poverty youth, and professional apprentices, as well as temporary summer help. All of this put a high administrative load on supervisory personnel. Furthermore, a lack of time and understanding affected the supervisors who had little time to give to training and orientation of part-time workers and Internes.

In all, about half of the Internes in the Department of Welfare ended up on low level routine clerical jobs in an administrative area in which help was greatly needed by the department. These jobs were extremely limited and frustrating to the Internes. This is more to be regretted since the majority of those Internes in the agency were upper-classmen and graduate students in the social sciences. In fact, some of the best qualified Internes in the entire program were placed in Welfare. Altogether over two-thirds of the Internes ultimately employed in Welfare were upper-classmen and graduate students.

Many efforts were made during the summer to alleviate the problems of which the Urban Corps Field Staff was well aware, but the labor shortage in the department and the bureaucratic inflexibility of its rules brought this effort to naught. A few Internes were transferred to work in geriatric centers and since this program was not inhibited by legal mandates, both Internes and the administration were happy with the results.

The Department of Welfare rated low in almost every category on the basis of Internes' questionnaires. Only one in ten were either very satisfied with their jobs or found them very interesting. A low one-quarter found their experience relevant to their studies or to their careers. Only one in five thought that the job assignments were of college level, and less than one-half thought the the job was appropriate for an Interne.

In addition to giving the job assignment a low rating, the Internes rated the agency low in those qualities making for a good job situation. Only one in ten thought that the department was open to new ideas, and three-quarters thought it highly bureaucratic. Only one-quarter believed that they had made any impression on the agency. Less than half had been able to exercise any initiative in their jobs. Only one in five had attended staff meetings.

Attitude changes resulting from summer work were very low in comparison with most agencies. The only exception being the attitudes toward the problems of poverty, where 61% of the Internes had become more interested. A startlingly low 10% felt that they had a chance to serve people in an agency dedicated to that function. Only about one-sixth thought that they had had an opportunity to broaden their educational experience or to learn anything about how New York City operates.

What is most discouraging about the description of the problem with the Department of Welfare is that Welfare was most enthusiastic about receiving Urban Corps Internes and made a serious effort on the high level to make good use of the program. The Urban Corps Field Staff spotted the problems at Welfare almost immediately, but despite intensive efforts was not able to bring about any substantial change. This demonstrates that the trouble lay not in problem-spotting, but in setting up means to alleviate problems.

3. Department of Sanitation.

The Department of Sanitation is the one large-scale agency where there was almost complete dissatisfaction. This was because almost all the Internes were assigned to the same task. Three worked in the central office compiling figures, but all the rest (by the end of the summer there were 37) did a field study of building superintendents' trash disposal habits. During the course of the program, one-fifth of the Internes originally employed in the study quit or transferred to other agencies. The fact that so many of the Internes stayed on the job despite being dissatisfied may be due to the fact that most were under-classmen. Furthermore they worked in teams and benefitted from each other's company. While in the field they were their own bosses. These factors helped to compensate for the poor jobs.

The Internes were dissatisfied both with what they were doing and with the working conditions. The Internes were first expected to work Sanitation hours, which are from 7:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., but the rules were eventually changed and the Internes were allowed to work from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. They had to report to a central location, go out into the field, and then report back at the end of the day. A lot of travelling was involved for some of the Internes, but the agency tried to be cooperative by assigning Internes to jobs in the boroughs in which they lived.

According to questionnaire responses, Sanitation is nearly average on only one dimension. The Internes were only slightly more likely than average to have a lot of idle time. Almost all the Internes were dissatisfied with their work and thought that it was uninteresting. The Field Staff member who wrote the report noted that those who were satisfied gave the "wrong" reasons, in terms of Urban Corps goals giving such responses as:

> "It's easy, I take my time and it's not taxing on my mind."
>
> "It's relaxing."
>
> "I'm making money and the hours give me time for myself in the afternoon."

Despite the fact that the Internes were gathering data for a study and therefore doing research, they were not personally committed to the research. They were not called on to make suggestions, nor were the purposes of the study explained. There was apparently no orientation program by the department. to explain what would happen with the information that was gathered. There was relatively little coordination or feedback as the data was brought in.

Although the agency supervisors felt that the work needed to be done and tried hard to work out problems with working conditions, one of the principal administrators is quoted as saying:

> "They're college kids, what can they do anyway? They should be grateful that they have an opportunity to make money. Why,in my day..."

Whether or not this tedious technical basement fact-finding could have been made interesting to the Urban Corps Internes is a question we will not try to answer. The point is that apparently Sanitation didn't even try to make it interesting. Although their job request called for engineering students, and the Urban Corps sent them students who intended to be engineering majors(most were going to be freshmen and sophomores), the actual job required no such skill. Although we have no returned questionnaires from Sanitation supervisors, it is reported that they felt much of the Internes' work was sloppy and below par. Undoubtedly if the Internes had been more motivated and found their jobs more interesting, they would have done better work.

C. What were the reasons that some agencies were good and others poor?

Our examination of three good agencies and three that the questionnaire revealed to be poor demonstrates that our ratings are valid. It also shows that it is extremely difficult to make generalizations about why a particular agency's utilization of Urban Corps Internes was good or poor. Good jobs and challenge can overcome poor administrative procedures as was the case in the Head Start program. We did uncover five patterns that were either prevalent in the poor agencies or absent in the good agencies, which appear to account for many of the differences.

1. Inflexibility.

Welfare was either unwilling or unable to alter its traditional patterns to allow highly motivated social science graduate students to get out of clerical work and into direct contact with clients. Just the opposite occurred in the Department of Marine and Aviation which we have not previously discussed. Marine and Aviation had planned to use Urban Corps Internes to man information booths throughout the city. When the supervisors in the agency realized that the Internes that had been assigned to them were intelligent and capable, the job assignments were switched and the Internes were given higher level work. This flexible agency wound up with a very satisfied group of Internes and supervisors.

2. Low level jobs, supervisors, or co-workers.

In two of the three poor departments that we have described at length the Internes were assigned to jobs that were also being done by low ranking civil service workers, by high school students, or by participants in anti-poverty programs.

3. Mass assignments with or without too many workers.

In both the records retention program in Highways and the waste disposal study in Sanitation, a large number of Internes were assigned to do similar work. Both worked out poorly. There are other situations that we did not cite where Internes reported that six were assigned to do the work of three, or four to do the work of two. Apparently it is much easier to make sure that a job will be both interesting and able to occupy one person fully if it is created individually for a specific person.

4. Lack of awareness of the ability of Internes.

In both Sanitation and Highways the supervisors seemed to feel that the students were lucky to be employed and could have expected little else if they hadn't had jobs in their agency. Most of the Internes had previously held full-time jobs and almost all felt they could have had other jobs if they hadn't taken the job with the Urban Corps. How capable were the Internes? Just how much any given college student can learn and can accomplish in the course of a summer is debatable. Most of the Internes who were challenged did a great deal. The supervisors who attempted to push the Internes to their full ability were generally pleasantly surprised with what they did. These Internes were certainly more satisfied.

5. Work with people.

There was one striking difference between the three high-ranking agencies - Head Start,Correction and the Youth Board - and the three low-ranking agencies - Highways, Welfare and Sanitation. In each of the three high-ranking agencies the Internes worked directly with the clients of the agency, either children, teenagers or prison inmates. These Internes were working primarily to help accomplish a mission of the agency. The Internes in Highways, Sanitation and Welfare did not generally work with people. In none of the three low-ranking agencies did a substantial number of the Interne work directly with people in attempting to carry out the primary mission of the agency. In the next two high-ranking agencies - Hospitals and Mental Health - a large number of the Internes also worked directly with clients. The five most successful agencies had Internes working directly with people in attempt to do something for them. This was not the case in the three low-ranking agencies.

Chapter 9

SUMMING UP

A. A summary of the study.

We will briefly attempt to outline the major conclusions from the study.

1. Exceptional people participated.

The young men and women who worked in the Urban Corps during its first year were better than average students, and a large proportion of them intended to go to graduate school. They were both idealistic and critical, but they expected something special out of the Urban Corps.

2. The Urban Corps was generally a success.

a. From the Internes' point of view.

Most of the Internes were satisfied with their jobs and found them interesting. A large number found their jobs related to either their undergraduate or graduate major, or their intended occupation. There was a one-fifth minority who were dissatisfied with their jobs. For the first summer of a large scale program, we regard these figures as **extremely good.**

A minority of the students said that they felt they had changed in better understanding urban problems and the problems of poverty. About one-fifth also said that there was a chance that they would go into public service as a result of their summer's experience.

When we presented the Internes with a summary of the Urban Corps' goals, most of the Internes felt that the Urban Corps had accomplished its goals.

b. From the supervisors' point of view.

Most of the supervisors felt that the Internes had done a very good job. They also rated the Internes positively in response to a number of other questions. Almost all the supervisors would want the Urban Corps to return.

c. From the agencies' point of view.

We have two different ways to rate the agencies. For 13 agencies we have questionnaires from 11 or more Internes. On the basis of questionnaires from Internes and supervisors, 10 out of the 13 agencies appear to have been excellent or good places in which to work. On the basis of field reports completed by the Urban Corps Field Staff, most of the agencies were good places in which to work, and the majority of Internes worked in good agencies. The two independent agency ratings agreed strongly with each other.

B. What caused satisfaction, effectiveness and change ?

1. The three factors were highly interrelated.

We saw that those Internes who were satisfied with their jobs were much more likely to be rated as having done a good job by their supervisors and these Internes were also more likely to have indicated that their summer caused them to change in becoming more interested in the problems of the city or the possibility of government service. Although change and effectiveness were strongly related to satisfaction, they were not related to each other. Internes who were rated by their supervisors as having done a very good job were no more likely to indicate change than those who did not receive such high ratings.

2. Good agencies had positive effects.

When we broke down the agencies into those that were good and those that were poor on the basis of reports completed by the Urban Corps Field Staff we saw that Internes in good agencies were much more likely to be satisfied with their jobs and much more likely to be rated as having done a very good job by their supervisors. The Internes in the good agencies were also much more likely to report that the Urban Corps had accomplished its goals. Internes in good agencies were no more likely to indicate that they had changed, however, than those in poor agencies.

3. Factors related to the level of the job and the agency.

In general we saw that the more challenging the job the more satisfied were the Internes. When the Interne felt that the academic level required for the job was high, he was much more likely to be satisfied. Similarly, Internes with supervisors with a higher level of education were much more likely to be satisfied with their jobs. If the Interne felt he had some choice in picking either his agency or his job, he was much more likely to be satisfied. Internes who held jobs that weren't similar to those held by other Internes were much more likely to be satisfied with their jobs. Agencies that prepared the Internes properly for their jobs were much more likely to have satisfied Internes.

4. Factors related to the individual.

Although the most important factors relating to job satisfaction had to do with the Interne's agency, a number of individual factors were highly related to the Interne's satisfaction with his job. Internes who indicated that they wanted careers which would allow them to work with people were much more likely either to be satisfied with their jobs or to create meaningful jobs for themselves. Internes who were more positive about people were also more satisfied with their jobs. Although factors related to the individual's socio-economic background did not relate to job satisfaction, graduate students were more likely to be satisfied with their jobs than were college freshmen. Students who had been leaders on their campuses were also more likely to find their jobs satisfying.

5. What caused some agencies to create good jobs and others poor jobs?

a. The students who volunteered for the Urban Corps program seemed to get their greatest satisfaction out of working directly with people. In the three agencies with a large number of dissatisfied Internes, there was little work directly with people.

b. Individualistic assignments. Several of the agencies that worked out poorly were ones that gave a bloc of similar jobs to their Internes If these jobs were bad, as they were in Sanitation and Highways, it became especially difficult to make improvements or changes because there were a large number of people involved.

c. High level jobs and supervisors. Most of the Internes intended to get advanced degrees or were already graduate students. Most who were given jobs that demanded a high level of academic ability or who were supervised by people with post-graduate education found their jobs satisfying.

d. Freedom and maneuverability of the agency and the awareness of the ability of the Internes.

The Department of Marine and Aviation had intended their Internes' jobs to be rather routine. When they realized the high level of students who had been assigned them, the agency was sufficiently flexible to make wholesale changes in the jobs that the Internes did. On the other hand, although the Department of Welfare made strong efforts to remedy a poor situation, departmental regulations did not permit the Internes to do the type of work that they undoubtedly would have enjoyed. A number of supervisors in the Department of Highways did not seem to be aware of the caliber of students that had been assigned them for the summer.

C. How the Urban Corps studied itself.

We have shown that in a number of ways the first summer of the Urban Corps program was quite successful. From our point of view, however, the really impressive aspect of the Urban Corps was the extent to which its operations were subject to scrutiny both by insiders and outsiders and the way in which it acted on the findings of several studies.

1. Studies done by the Urban Corps itself.

At the Convocation a questionnaire was distributed and filled out by 300 Internes. Problems located by this questionnaire were the subject of remedial efforts by the Urban Corps Field Staff. The Urban Corps Field Staff was made up of graduate students who had no tendency to gloss over things. In fact, they were hypercritical. They clearly identified the poor agencies and the poor jobs and worked hard to try to improve things. Their findings went immediately to the administrators of the program, and they were taken seriously.

2. This study.

When Deputy Mayor Costello asked the Bureau of Applied Social Research to do a study of the Urban Corps, one of the requests was that quick answers be provided to a number of questions so that a general assessment of the summer's first program would be possible when its first summer came to an end.

The results from a portion of the questionnaires on a sample of the Internes were made available to the Urban Corps administration within two weeks after the questionnaire was administered. On this basis it was seen that the program was generally successful, but that basic procedures would have to be improved for next summer. The early results of this study played some part in the decision to continue and expand the program throughout the year and into a second summer.

D. Changes anticipated for the second summer.

As this is being written, plans have been completed for the summer of 1967 (the second summer of the Urban Corps) in which 2,000 Internes will participate. A number of important changes has been made which should eliminate most of the problems that we have discussed. We will briefly discuss the improvements which are contemplated for the second summer.

1. Pay procedures.

The city Department of Personnel will pay the Internes directly, and send the college one bill for all students of that college in the program. This should result in students receiving their paychecks every two weeks, 10 days after the end of the pay period.

2. The files.

One master file will be set up for each student, and each student will be assigned a number. Procedures will be automated so that an up-to-date roster of all Internes will always be available.

3. The job selection process.

We have seen that it was of immense importance to students to have some say in the job at which they would be working. The Urban Corps has prepared a list of 73 categories of assignments. This has been circulated to each college. Each student who is applying for the program must list four choices of categories of assignment, in order of preference. The Interne is assigned a job, with every effort being made to match his first preference. The applicants are then sent a postcard announcing the job and agency to which they have been assigned. However, each student is given the option of rejecting his first assignment and asking for a second one.

4. The creation of jobs.

Having had one summer's experience, the Urban Corps staff now knows which jobs in which agencies worked out well. All new jobs have been scrutinized by the Department of Personnel which has rejected a large number as not being appropriate for the Urban Corps program.

5. The education program.

The Center for Education in Politics has taken over the education program for the second summer. In conjunction with city agencies, they have prepared 10 lectures with each one being generally related to one of the 10 new city administrations which will be in effect if the city's reorganization plan, as proposed by Mayor Lindsay, goes into effect. The lectures will be in the afternoon, and each Interne will be assigned to one of 10 groups. Each group of approximately 200 students will meet at the same place at the same time each week for 10 weeks. Each lecture will be repeated 10 times, usually by the same speaker. In this fashion all 2,000 Internes will take part in the same well-organized program which will contrast strongly with the approximately 50 separate lectures which were offered last summer. After the lectures, the students will be given coffee and a chance to talk with the speaker.

The Internes will be paid for the time they spend at the lectures, but they will also be offered the option of working in their agency rather than attending the program. Each Interne will be given the schedule and the topics of all 10 lectures at the start of the program.

6. The Internes' Council.

A council to advise the administrators of the Urban Corps will be elected from the 10 units attending the educational programs. This will assure that the students in the agencies will have a strong voice in determining Urban Corps' practices and policies.

One of the reasons that the Urban Corps was able to contemplate significant improvements for its second summer of operation was the fact that it really faced up to the problems that it encountered during the first year and attempted to make improvements.

Footnotes

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Appendix I

RESULTS FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE
ADMINISTERED TO 634
NEW YORK CITY URBAN CORPS INTERNES

This represents a 58% response rate. For a discussion of the representativeness of these responses, see Appendix V.

Section A: Your Job This Summer

A-3 What academic level would you say is required to do your job?

20% Less than high school
29 High school graduate
28 Some college
7% College graduate
7 Education beyond the BA
8 It's hard to say

A-4 Do you think the job you are now doing really needs to be done or is it a "make work" job?

75% It needs to be done
11% Make work
11% It's hard to say

A-5 How many hours per week are you paid to work?

1% Less than 24
2 25 - 29
68 30 - 34
25% 35 - 39
4 40 - 44
0 45 plus

A-6 How many hours would you have liked to work?

1% Less than 24
1 25 - 29
13 30 - 34
36% 35 - 39
41 40 - 44
9 45 plus

A-7 While at work how many hours per week do you actually have little or nothing to do?

32% Almost none, I'm busy all the time
28 1 - 4 hours per week
18 5 - 9 hours per week
10% 10 - 14 hours per week
6 15 - 19 hours per week
4 20 or more hours per week I've had little or nothing to do

A-8 How would you rate your own performance in the last month?

41% Very good
45 Good
9 Fair
1% Poor
0 Very poor
4 I don't know

A-9 How do you think your supervisor would rate your performance?

48% Very good
39 Good
6 Fair
1% Poor
0 Very poor
5 I don't know

A-10 Do you think the agency would want you to come back next summer if you could?

91% Yes
1 No
6% It's hard to say
2 Other

A-11 Do you think your supervisor would want you to come back next summer if you could?

89% Yes
1 No
8% It's hard to say
1 Other

(Note: Percentages are rounded off, therefore they may add to more than 100%. If responses to a question total less than 100% it is because some of the respondents didn't answer the question.)

Section A (cont'd)

A-12 Do you expect the job you are doing will be carried on after you leave?

63%	Yes	8%	It's hard to say
22	No	7	Other

A-13 What is your pay rate?

45%	$2.00 / hour
31	2.50 / hour
23	3.00 / hour
0	Volunteer

A-14 For the work you have been doing in your present job, do you feel your hourly rate has been:

73%	About right
14	Too low
11	Too high

A-15 How many full weeks (30 hours or more) will you have worked this summer? (by the end of the Urban Corps program)

27%	9 weeks or less
21	10 or 11 weeks
30	12 weeks
2	13 weeks or more

A-16 How many weeks would you have liked to have been able to work?

5%	9 weeks or less
21	10 or 11 weeks
33	12 weeks
35	13 weeks or more

A-17 How much money will you earn this summer from the Urban Corps (before taxes)?

4%	Less than $400
21	$400 - 599
32	600 - 799
26	800 - 999
15	$1,000 or more
0	I'm an unpaid volunteer
1	I don't know

Section A (cont'd)

A-18 How does this compare to what you expected when you applied to the Urban Corps?

13%	I will make more than I expected
34	I will make less than I expected
45	I will make about what I expected
8	I didn't know what to expect

A-19 Approximately how much do you estimate you will have saved from this summer's work in the Urban Corps?

21%	Less than $200
31	$200 - 399
26	400 - 599
11	600 - 799
3	800 - 999
1	1,000 or more
3	Volunteer
6	I don't know

A-20 Did you turn down another job this summer to work for the Urban Corps?

56%	Yes
42	No
1	Other

A-21 What would you have done this summer if you had not worked for the Urban Corps?

17%	I would have had another Work-Study job
63	Probably I would have had another job for most of the summer
5	Probably I would have had a job for part but not most of the summer
3	I would have gone to school and not worked
1	I would not have worked or done much of anything
3	It's hard to say
8	Other

Section A (cont'd)

A-22 When you applied to the Urban Corps did you think it would be just a job or did you think it would be something special because you would be an Interne?

66% Something special
22 Just a job
10 I didn't think about it one way or the other

A-23 When you applied to the Urban Corps, did you feel that it was difficult to get into (the standards would be so high that many would not qualify)?

30% Yes 38% No 30% I didn't know

A-24 Please answer the following questions with reference to your present assignment.*

a) Are you satisfied with your assignment?
18% Not at all
43 Satisfactory
39 Very satisfied

b) Do you find the assignment interesting?
22% Very dull
38 Satisfactory
38 Very interesting

c) Do you find the assignment within your experience and competence?
1% Very difficult
45 Reasonably
52 Very easy

d) Is your assignment related to either your present or future studies?
40% Not at all
36 Reasonably
20 Very closely
2 I don't know what I'll be studying

e) Is your assignment related to your career plans?
42% Not at all
31 Reasonably
19 Very closely
6 I haven't yet decided on my career

A-25 How many other Internes are there in your office, or close by in your agency? (with whom you might come into contact in the course of a day)

20% None
34 1 or 2
28 3 - 6
11% 7 - 15
4 More than 15
2 I don't know

*Note: This question was used by the Urban Corps on a sample of Internes in June. We repeated it without change for purposes of comparison.

Section A (cont'd)

A-26 Are there other Urban Corps Internes in your agency who do pretty much the same kind of work you do?

63% Yes
25 No
8% I don't know
2 Other

A-27 How many non-Urban Corps people are there in your office or close by in your agency? (with whom you might come into contact in the course of a day)

3% None
10 1 or 2
19 3 - 6
30% 7 - 15
35 More than 15
2 I don't know

A-28 Do you feel that your present job is an appropriate job for an Urban Corps Interne?

68% Yes 26% No

A-29 What about each of the following types of work for a summer job? In Column 1 check those that you would like to do. In column 2 check those for which you feel qualified. (in rank order on basis of those checking both "1" and "2")

	(Respondent checked only) Like to do only	(Respondent checked) Like to do and qualified for	(Respondent checked only) Qualified for
Teaching	82%	0%	17%
Research	18	35	7
Working in a poverty program	17	34	11
Working with patients in a hospital	12	17	11
Work with children other than teaching	10	42	15
Arts and crafts	8	13	4
Other skilled work	5	19	2
Other clerical work	3	27	13
Typing	3	8	19
Other	4	1	9

A-30 Have you worked at your present job all summer?

82% Yes 17% No

A-31 If you have switched jobs what were the reasons? (check all that apply)

3% I completed my original assignment
7 I wasn't happy with the work
0% Agency or supervisor was dissatisfied
6 Other

Section A (cont'd)

A-32 If you switched jobs, how many different jobs have you held?

12% 2
2 3
0 4

0% 5 or more
0 Other

A-33 If you swtiched jobs, did you move from one agency to another?

5% Yes 9% No 1% Other

A-35 Were you given a piece of paper describing your fir
job this summer?

37% Yes 56% No 2% Other:

A-36 If yes, was the job you were first given similar to the one described on that piece of paper.

17% Yes, very similar
10 Yes, slightly similar
10 No, it was not at all similar
62 Doesn't apply -- no paper

A-37 Since you started work, have you complained to anyone in authority in your agency about any aspect of your job? (either your present or a previous job if you have had more than one job)

37% Yes 58% No 2% Other

A-38 If yes, were things taken care of as you desired by either him or your agency?

17% Yes 18% No 3% Other

A-39 Have you complained to the Urban Corps staff about any aspect of your job aside from the lateness of your pay (either your present job or a previous job)?

25% Yes 70% No 1% Other

A-40 If yes, were things taken care of as you desired as a result of this?

8% Yes 16% No 2% Other

A-41 Do you know that there is a Field Staff at the Urban Corps headquarters which has worked to solve Internes' complaints?

55% Yes 42% No

Section A (cont'd)

A-42 Have you been visited by anyone from the Urban Corps Field Staff?

50% Yes 45% No 3% Other

A-43 Do you feel that the office at your college that is administering the Work-Study program is doing a good job?

30%	Yes, a very good job	18%	No
35	Yes, a fairly good job	15	It's hard to say

A-44 Please indicate whether each of the following has been a serious problem, a minor problem, no problem at all, or was just not applicable in your case.

	Serious problem for me	Minor problem	No problem	Not applicable
a) Not being paid on time	53%	37%	8%	1%
b) Lack of communication or support from administrators at my college	14	20	52	12
e) Appropriateness of my job	14	18	52	9
k) Being overqualified for the job	13	19	48	17
c) Lack of communication or support from people running the Urban Corps	12	23	52	9
g) Not enough work	12	19	50	17
i) Having nothing to do a substantial portion of the time	10	15	55	19
h) Policies of agency in which I worked	8	20	63	8
d) Too few visits from the Urban Corps central office	7	17	55	17
j) Not being able to get along with agency co-workers (non-Urban Corps)	3	9	74	14
l) Being underqualified for job	1	4	64	28
f) Too much work	1	8	71	17

Section A (cont'd)

A-48 How did you hear about the Urban Corps? (check all that apply)

54%	Through the Work-Study Office at my college
19	Through friends at my college
6	Through friends outside of college
12	Through newspaper or other publication
9	Other

A-49 Below is a calendar of the summer listing the Monday of each week.

June 6	(1)	July 4	(5)	August 1	(9)
June 13	(2)	July 11	(6)	August 8	(0)
June 20	(3)	July 18	(7)	August 15	(X)
June 27	(4)	July 25	(8)	Later	(Y)

a) Please circle the number of the week in which you were first paid:

0%	(1)	1%	(3)	11%	(5)	19%	(7)	10%	(9)	7%	(X)
1	(2)	4	(4)	21	(6)	15	(8)	6	(0)	3	(Y)

b) Please circle the number of the week that you would have been able to and would have liked to start work:

48%	(1)	12%	(3)	3%	(5)	0%	(7)	0%	(9)	1%	(X)
26	(2)	8	(4)	1	(6)	0	(8)	0	(0)		

c) Please circle the number of the week that you were assigned to your first job:

5%	(1)	22%	(3)	8%	(5)	1%	(7)	1%	(9)	1%	(X)
42	(2)	15	(4)	3	(6)	1	(8)	0	(0)		

A-50 Knowing what you know now, would you still have worked in the Urban Corps?

88% Yes 9% No

A-51 For the same kind of work you are doing now?

69% Yes 25% No

Section B Your Present Agency

B-1 Did your present agency provide?

(answer for each)

	Yes	No	Does not Apply
a) An orientation session for all Urban Corps Internes in the agency	43%	48%	7%
b) Any sort of orientation for you	57	37	3
c) Any sort of education program	35	54	7
d) The opportunity to attend agency staff meetings	33	56	7
e) An opportunity to meet with other Urban Corps Internes to discuss problems or experiences	40	49	9

B-2 Roughly how much choice would you say you had in choosing the agency you worked at?

21%	It was my choice	47%	I had no choice
28	I had some choice	2	Other

B-3 Roughly how much choice would you say you had in choosing your present job?

16%	It was my choice	48%	I had no choice
31	I had some choice	2	Other

B-4 When you first arrived in this agency, how much did your agency prepare you for what you would be doing?

20%	Quite a bit	24%	Very little
31	Some	23	There was no preparation at all

B-5 Do you feel that this was too much preparation, not enough, or about right?

4%	Too much	52%	About right
26	Not enough	12	It's hard to say

B-6 Have you ever made any suggestion to anyone in authority in your agency?

66% Yes 32% No 1% Other

B-7 Do you have a chance to exercise any initiative on your job?

68% Yes 27% No 3% Other

B-8 Is there one person in your agency at present who is more or less your supervisor?

96% Yes 2% No 1% Other

IF NO, skip to Question B-16

Section B (cont'd)

B-9 If you presently have a supervisor, how long has he been your supervisor?

79% Since the beginning of my work with the Urban Corps
12 For more than 4 weeks
3 2 or 3 weeks
1 1 week or less
1 Other

B-10 How often do you see your supervisor at present?

60% Nearly all the time
17 2 or 3 times a day
5 Once a day
6% 2 or 3 times a week
6 Less than that
2 Other

B-11 Approximately how old is your immediate supervisor?

13% 20 - 29 years old
24 30 - 39
33 40 - 49
22% 50 or over
2 I don't know

B-12 What is the sex of your supervisor?

61% Male 35% Female

B-13 Estimate about how far your supervisor went in school?

9% High school graduate or less
10 Some college but didn't graduate
28 College graduate
39 Beyond the BA
9 I don't know

B-14 Do you like your supervisor as a person?

52% Very much
28 Somewhat
11% Not much
4 It's hard to say

B-15 How many Urban Corps Internes report to your immediate supervisor?

38% None but myself
32 1 or 2 others
18 3 - 9
5% 10 or more
2 I don't know

B-16 Do you think you have:

8% Too much supervision
70 About the right amount of supervision
7 Too little supervision
10 It's hard to say
3 Other

Section B (cont'd)

B-17 Would you say your non-Urban Corps co-workers are:

89% Friendly to you
1 Unfriendly to you
6 Neither one way or the other
1 I don't know

B-18 All in all do you think that the staff in your agency like the Urban Corps Internes?

81% Yes
3 No
12% I don't know
2 Other

B-19 Have you become friendly with any of the Non-Urban Corps workers in your agency?

90% Yes 7% No

B-20 How would you characterize your agency with regard to each of the following:

a) Open to new ideas?
25% Very open to new ideas
37 Somewhat open to new ideas
18 Not at all open to new ideas
16 It's hard to say

b) Bureaucratic?
35% Highly bureaucratic
35 Somewhat bureaucratic
13 Not bureaucratic at all
11 It's hard to say

c) Sympathetic toward clients?
29% Very sympathetic toward clients
31 Somewhat sympathetic
9 Indifferent to clients
20 Not applicable- no clients
8 It's hard to say

d) Well run?
22% Very well run
51 Fairly well run
19 Poorly run
6 It's hard to say

B-21 Was there one Urban Corps Interne in your agency who was more or less in charge of the other Urban Corps Internes?

11% Yes 84% No 3% Other

Section C Your General Attitudes

(Note: Questions in this section are asked so that Urban Corps Internes can be compared to other students. Please feel free to skip any question to which you might object)

C-1 Please check whether you agree or disagree with each of the following:

	Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Moderately disagree	Strongly disagree	No opinion
c) More should be done for civil rights of minorities	48%	27%	8%	6	5%
a) I think the New York area is a good place to live	40	37	11	7	1
b) Individualism is dying out in America	19	33	23	14	6
e) Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow	11	36	30	14	4
d) Most people cannot be trusted	5	15	36	30	8

C-2 Please check how you feel about each of the following prospects.

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	No opinion
e) Entering a profession	80	13	1	1	1
b) Doing some other sort of volunteer work after completing your education	28	39	13	8	8
a) Being active in politics on a volunteer basis	26	36	13	9	12
d) Owning a business	15	25	20	23	12
c) Entering military service	8	11	17	43	11

Section C (cont'd)

C-3 Some people seem to think about what's going on in government all the time. Others aren't that interested. How often do you follow what's going on in government?

49%	Almost all the time	10%	Only now and then
37	Some of the time	3	Hardly at all

C-4 People have different ideas about the purposes of a college education. As you read this list, indicate how important each of these purposes is to you.

(answer for each)	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	No opinion
c) Provide a basic general education and appreciation of ideas	81%	14%	2%	0%
d) Develop knowledge and interest in community and world problems	61	31	6	0
b) Develop the ability to get along with different kinds of people	59	29	10	1
a) Provide vocational training; develop skills and techniques directly applicable to a career	56	26	15	1
e) Help develop moral capacities, ethical standards and values	47	27	19	3
f) Preparation for a happy marriage and family life	21	28	42	6

C-5 About how often do you:

(answer for each)	2 or 3 times a week	Every week	2 or 3 times a month	Once a month	Less than that
a) Go to a movie	1%	5%	33%	33%	27%
b) Go to either a play or a concert	1	2	17	31	48
c) Visit with friends or date	41	36	13	4	3

Section C (cont'd)

C-6 Which of these characteristics would be very important to you in picking a job or career?

78%	Opportunities to be helpful to others or useful to society
77	Opportunities to be original and creative
66	Opportunity to work with people rather than things
63	Living and working in the world of ideas
52	A chance to exercise leadership
46	Making a lot of money
40	Freedom from supervision in my work
39	Opportunities for moderate but steady progress rather than the chance of extreme success or failure
27	Avoiding a high pressure job which takes too much out of you
0	None of these

C-7 What is your opinion about the Peace Corps? (check only one)

29%	An excellent program about which I am enthusiastic
37	A good idea; I am very much in favor
17	A good idea but I am not enthusiastic
7	Probably a good idea but I am not enthusiastic
1	Probably not a good idea but I am not sure
1	Definitely not a good idea
5	Don't know enough about it to have an opinion

C-8 What are you personally likely to do about the Peace Corps? (check only one)

29%	Definitely not volunteer
16	Am thinking about volunteering but have not made my mind yet
33	Have thought about volunteering but probably would not
4	Am probably going to volunteer
1	Have already volunteered
13	I am not sure what I will do

C-9 If you were to meet a friend whom you had not seen since May, what would you tall him you are doing this summer?

30%	1- Working as an Urban Corps Interne
16	2- Working for the City of New York
34	3- Working for my agancy
4	5- 1 + 2
4	6- 1 + 3
1	7- 2 + 3
5	8- 1, 2, and 3
4	Other

Section C (cont'd)

C-10 Would you say your experience in the Urban Corps this summer has caused you to change in any of the following ways?

	I have changed a great deal	I have changed somewhat	I have not changed	It's hard to say
f) I am more interested in the mission of the agency in which I worked this summer	33%	33%	26%	5%
g) I am more interested in the problems of the poor and disadvantaged	24	29	44	3
b) I understand urban problems better	22	45	28	4
e) I am more sympathetic to the problems of the Mayor of a large city	21	34	42	3
c) I am more interested in the political process	11	21	63	4
d) I am more likely to be active in politics or organizations trying to get things done	11	20	61	6
i) The educational seminar (or seminars) I attended expanded my knowledge of New York City	8	24	52	9
a) I like New York City more	5	17	73	4
h) My experience this summer has caused me to change my career plans	5	9	81	4

Section C (cont'd)

C-11 After your education is completed, do you think that there is any chance you might take a full-time job with an agency of either of the following:

(answer for each)	No	Possibly	Yes
a) The Federal Government (other than military service)	27%	53%	17%
b) A state or city government (other than teaching)	35	49	15

IF EITHER OF THE ABOVE IS YES CR POSSIBLY, has your experience in the Urban Corps caused you to change in this respect?

20% Yes
40 No
14 It's hard to say
23 Doesn't apply because above is NO

Section D Your Attitudes toward the Urban Corps

D-1 As far as your personal experience is concerned, how good a job do you think the Urban Corps is doing in achieving its goals?

	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly poor	Very poor	It's hard for me to say
a) Allowing you to earn money for school next year	58%	31%	5%	2%	3%
d) Broadening your educational experience	39	32	13	11	4
c) Allowing you to do something for people	32	31	14	13	8
g) Serving as an "Internship" for you so that you will actually learn something	32	30	18	14	4
b) Helping you to learn more about how New York City operates	24	45	15	9	7
f) Helping the city get needed work done	27	45	10	8	5
e) Exposing the staff of city agencies to fresh ideas from new people	17	27	21	20	13

Section D (cont'd)

D-2 Do you think that the Urban Corps is a good idea?

97% Yes 1% No

D-3 Do you think that you will work for the Urban Corps next summer?

48%	Yes
23	No, because I may be doing something else
3	No, because my experience this summer has been unsatisfactory
25	It's hard to say

D-4 Have you participated in the Federal Work-Study Program at your college before this summer?

19% Yes 80% No

D-5 Did you know that the Urban Corps is largely administered by a staff of Urban Corps Internes?

55% Yes 44% No

D-6 How good a job do you think the Urban Corps staff has done? (aside from the problems of your pay)

43%	Good	7%	Poor
32	So-so	16	I don't know

D-7 Has the Urban Corps led to any new friendships for you?

16%	Yes among the other Urban Corps Internes
24	Yes among Non-Urban Corps co-workers
49	Both 1 and 2
10	No

Section E The Educational Seminars

E-1 As part of the Urban Corps program this summer there were educational seminars. Do you think that educational seminars are a good idea?

64% Yes 16% No 16% It's hard to say

E-2 Did you go to any of the educational seminars this summer?

73% Yes 19% No 6% I was invited but didn't go

E-3 If you went to any of the seminars, answer the following for each of them. (don't include the opening convocation) Did you like it? (For the first attended only.)

41% Yes 23% No 25% Didn't attend a seminar

Section E (cont'd)

E-5 Please indicate how interesting each of the following speakers might be at an Urban Corps Education Seminar:

(Please answer for each, if you don't know, guess)	Very interesting	Somewhat interesting	Not interesting	It's hard to say
a) Someone from the Peace Corps	48%	34%	8%	5%
d) A Poverty Program Administrator	42	36	12	4
c) A Prison Department Administrator	38	38	15	4
e) A Sociology Professor	38	38	14	5
h) A TV News Commentator	36	37	14	8
f) A Public Law and Government Professor	33	37	18	7
b) A Welfare Department Administrator	30	42	19	5
g) A Businessman	15	35	34	11

E-6 Would you prefer that the Urban Corps Educational Seminars you attend: (check only one)

56%	Be related to your educational interests
27	Better help you to understand New York City problems
11	First and second responses both checked
6	Other

E-7 At what time of the day would you prefer to attend an Educational Seminar?

48%	10 A.M. in the morning
36	3 P.M. in the afternoon
7	8 P.M. in the evening
9	Other or makes no difference

Section F Your Background

F-1 Have you ever held a full-time job before this summer? (30 hours per week or more for 4 weeks or longer)

74% Yes 25% No 1% Other

F-3 Were you regularly employed during the past school year? (check any which apply)

45% No
15 Yes
0 Full-time job which is relevant to my anticipated career field
1 Full-time job which has nothing to do with my anticipated career field
8 Part-time job which is relevant to my anticipated career field
28 Part-time job which has nothing to do with my anticipated career field

F-4 Were you employed at all (on either a full-time or part-time basis) during any of the following periods?

49% Last school year (1965-66)
72 Last summer (1965)
37 1964 - 1965 school year
62 Summer 1964

F- 7 Do you expect to have a job during the coming school year?

35% Yes, a Federal Work-Study job
18 Yes, but not a Work-Study job
24 No
20 I don't know

If yes, check the number of hours you expect to work per week.

4% 6 or less
39 7 - 15
6 16 - 25
2% 26 or more
3 I don't know

F-8 Would you like to work for the Urban Corps (for a maximum of 15 hours per week) during the coming school year?

80% Yes
13 Yes, I would like to but won't be able to
1 No
1 It's hard to say

E-9 Are you:

90% Single 7% Married 1% Other (divorced, widowed)

F-10 Compare yourself to the students you are friendly with:

(answer for each)	More than the students I am friendly with	The same as the students I am friendly with	Less than the students I am friendly with
a) Do you enjoy your studies?	25%	67%	4%
b) How much time do you spend on your studies?	25	54	16
c) Do fellow students ask you for your advice?	31	53	7

F-11 How far do you eventually plan to go in school? (check only one)

For undergraduates only

14% 4 years of college or less
43 Masters or equivalent
43 Ph.D., M.D., Law degree, or equivalent

For graduate students only

89% Ph.D., M.D., Law degree, or equivalent

Of the total, 50% intend to get a Ph.D., M.D., Law degree, or the equivalent.

F-12 Will you be a student this fall?

99% Yes 1% No 0% Undecided

b) If yes, will you be a:
92% Full-time day student
2 Full-time night student
3 Part-time student
1 Other

F-13 What was your average in school last year?

3%	A	19%	B	9%	C
11	A-	20	B-	5	C - or lower
13	B+	13	C+	3	I don't know

F-14 In what academic year will you be this fall (academic year 1966-67) (check one)

12%	Freshman	6%	First year graduate school
29	Sophomore	15	Beyond first year graduate school
20	Junior		
16	Senior	0	I won't be in school

Section F (cont'd)

F-15 a) Check the number in front of any groups or organizations to which you have been a member while in college. (if you belong to groups or organizations which are not included on the lists, specify what they are in "Other" below.)

7% (1) Campus religious groups
11 (2) Departmental or pre-professional clubs
5 (3) Literary or cultural societies
6 (4) Musical or theatrical groups
7 (5) Publications (college newspaper, humor magazine, etc.)
10 (6) Political or public affairs groups
5% (7) Honor or key society
9 (8) Intramural athletics
6 (9) Intercollegiate athletics
8 (0) Student government
6 (X) Special interest groups (e.g., hiking club, photography club)
10 (Y) Other
12 Doesn't apply, will be a freshman

b) If you have held an office or position of authority in the groups you have checked, circle the number of each group.

3%	(1)	2%	(3)	6%	(5)	2%	(7)	2%	(9)	2%	(X)
5	(2)	2	(4)	6	(6)	2	(8)	10	(0)	10	(Y)

F-16 Are there (or were there) social fraternities or sororities at your undergraduate college?

72% Yes 16% No 12% Doesn't apply, freshman

F-17 Are you (or were you) affiliated with a social fraternity or sorority while in college?

22% Yes 62% No 4% Other 12% Doesn't apply, freshman

F-18 a) Did you have a fellowship, scholarship or similar award last year?

45% Yes 29% No 14% Other 12% Doesn't apply, freshman

b) Did you have any sort of loan last year?

30% Yes 58% No 1% Other 12% Doesn't apply, freshman

F-19 Write in the number of your undergraduate major field. (If you have a joint major, give the one with the most course credits.)

18% Business, engineering, science
52 Social science, law, humanities
15 Health and education (including biology)
17 None listed

Section F (cont'd)

F-20 Future graduate or professional major. (If you do not plan to go to graduate or professional school, write in "11") If you plan study in several fields, give the main one.

19%	Business, engineering, science
51	Social science, law, humanities
16	Health and education (including biology)
13	None listed

F-21 Write in the number of your probable field of occupation. (If you are a woman write "Housewife 52" only if you do not expect to work full-time until your children are grown.

20%	Business, engineering, science
46	Social science, law, humanities
25	Health and education
9	None listed or intends to be a housewife

F-22 How do you feel about the occupation which you checked as your anticipated career field? (check one)

61%	I strongly prefer it to any other
32	I could be tempted by one or more alternatives
3	I would prefer one or more alternatives

F-23 The following activities cut across a number of specific jobs. Which ones do you anticipate will be an important part of your long run career work? (check any which apply)

29%	Teaching	25%	Service to patients or clients
26	Research		
16	Administration	4	None of these

F-24 About yourself:

a) Your age:

7%	17 or less	10%	21
20	18	18	22 - 24
24	19	3	25 or more
16	20		

Section F (cont'd)

F-24 (cont'd)

b) Are you:
65% Male 33% Female

c) Are you:
83% White
12 Negro
1 Oriental
1 Other

d) In what religion were you brought up?
16% Protestant
31 Catholic
46 Jewish
2 Other
3 None

e) How religious would you say you are?
20% Very 45% Somewhat 31% Not at all

F-25 About your family and home background.

a) How far did your parents go in school? (check only one)

(answer for each)	Less than high school graduate	High school graduate	Some college	College graduate	More than college
Your Father	38%	28%	14%	10%	8%
Your Mother	30	46	13	7	3

b) Birthplace of:

Your Father	65%	U. S.	32%	Other: (please specify)
Your Mother	71	U. S.	27	Other: (please specify)

c) If your father is living, is he:

73% Working
3 Unemployed
5% Retired
15 Deceased or other

Section F. (cont'd)

F-25 (cont'd)

What is your father's major accupation? (If he is retired or deceased, what was his major occupation? If unable to classify his occupation, write in your answer in the "other" category)

10%	Professional
15	Proprietor (self-employed businessman, store owner, etc.)
10	Business official, supervisor or executive.
8	Salesman (wholesale or retail)
6	Clerical worker (office worker, bookkeeper, office machine operator etc.)
0	Farm owner or manager
0	Farm worker
5	Technician or semi-professional worker (e.g. laboratory technician, draftsman etc.)
16	Skilled operator or machine operator (factory machine worker, bus driver etc.)
12	Service worker (policeman, fireman, waiter, barber, cook etc.)
8	Laborer
4	Other

d) About how much was your parents' income last year? (Please feel free to skip this question if you wish to.)

8%	Less than $3,000	10%	$10,000 - 14,999
14	$3,000 - 4,999	2	15,000 - 25,000
18	5,000 - 7,499	1	Over $25,000
12	7,500 - 9,999	10	I don't know
		21	No answer

e) Check the size of the city in which your parent now live.

2%	Less than 2,500	4%	50,000 - 200,000
4	2,500 - 10,000	77	Over 200,000 (New York City)
9	10,000 - 500,000		

f) Check the number of miles from your parents' home to your college:

36%	0 - 10	5%	100 - 250
26	10 - 25	4	250 - 500
9	25 - 50	7	500 or more
6	50 - 100	4	I don't know

g) Have you lived in New York City:

65%	Most of your life
8	Not most but more than 5 years
14	Less than 5 years but some time
2	Not at all before this summer
10	Other

Section F (cont'd)

F-25 (cont'd)

h) In which of the following is your permanent home address?

19%	Manhattan
12	Bronx
26	Brooklyn
23	Queens
3	Richmond
4%	Nassau County, Long Island
3	New Jersey within 20 miles of New York City
2	Westchester County, New York
7	Other

i) Are you an only child?

15% Yes 84% No

How many brothers and sisters do you have?

15% None 41% One 44% Two or more

How many brothers and sisters are younger than you?

40% None 32% One 26% Two or more

j) How would you characterize your home enrivonment?

	Very	Somewhat	Not at all
a) Understanding	40%	47%	8%
b) Close	50	34	10
c) Warm	30	37	17

F-26 Estimate what proportion of your:

	More than 3/4	3/4 to 1/2	1/2 to 1/4	Less than 1/4
a) High school class went to college	43%	30%	17%	7%
b) High school friends went to college	73	13	7	3
c) High school friends went to the same college as you	4	8	15	69
d) High school friends are still friends of yours	20	16	21	40

Section F (cont'd)

F-27 Last school year did you live in: (check one)

64%	Parent's or relatives' home
18	Dormitory or residence hall
1	Fraternity or sorority house
0	Co-op house
1	With a friend
13	Off-campus apartment not under college control
1	Off-campus facilities under college control
1	Other

F-28 This summer did you live in: (check one)

77%	Parent's or relatives' home
1	Dormitory or resident hall
1	Fraternity or sorority house
0	Co-op house
2	With a friend
16	Off-campus apartment not under college control
0	Off-campus facilities under college control
1	Other

F-29 Have you had a good summer aside from your job?

70%	Yes
6	No
23	Just so-so

Appendix II

RESULTS FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISORS OF 581 NEW YORK CITY URBAN CORPS INTERNES

These 581 questionnaires represent responses for 53% of the Internes. Many supervisors could not be reached because their programs had ended. The instructions to the New York City agency supervisor were as follows:

> "Would you please answer this side in reference to the above named Urban Corps Interne who works or worked in your agency? If a question cannot be answered, please make comments in the margin."

The questionnaires were addressed

"To the Supervisor of --."

These supervisors over-represent the satisfied Internes. Where 44% of these supervisors' Internes reported that they were very satisfied with their assignments, only 34% of the 634 Internes from whom we have completed questionnaires were very satisfied with their assignments.

Supervisors' opinions on 581 Urban Corps Internes

A-1 About how often do you (or did you) see him or her?

61% Nearly all the time
15 2 or 3 times a day
10 Once a day
9% 2 or 3 times a week
2 Less than that
1 Other

A-2 About how long have you been (or were you) the supervisor of this Urban Corps Interne?

70% Since the start of the program in this agency
23 For more than 4 weeks
3% 2 or 3 week
0 1 week or less
2 Other

A-3 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the Urban Corps Interne named above?

	Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Moderately dis-agree	Strongly dis-agree	Hard to say or no opin-ion
e) The Interne's job is one that really needs to be done	80%	13%	2%	0%	5%
c) The Interne dresses appropriately for his or her job	77	17	3	2	1
a) The Interne comes to work on time	75	17	4	2	2
h) The Interne has a chance to show initiative	74	21	2	0	5
j) I like the Interne personally	74	20	2	1	3
f) The Interne has plenty to do most of the time	73	21	2	0	4
b) The Interne cares about the work he is doing	69	22	4	3	2
i) The Interne has an interesting job	64	26	5	0	3
g) The Interne has shown initiative	62	27	6	3	2
d) The Interne's job will be carried out after he leaves	51	17	4	10	18.

A-4 Do you think the Interne has:

1%	Too much supervision	4%	It's hard to say
84	About the right amount	2	Other
8	Too little supervision		

A-5 How would you rate the Interne's performance in the last month?

58%	Very good	2%	Poor
27	Good	1	Very poor
10	Fair	1	It's hard to say

A-6 What academic level would you say is required to do this Interne's job?

2%	Less than high school	14%	College graduate
20	High school graduate	5	Education beyond the BA
53	Some college	5	It's hard to say

Reports on the Urban Corps Contained in 515 Supervisors' Reports

B-3 All in all, do you think that the staff in your agency likes the Urban Corps Internes?

89% Yes 0% No 8% Don't know

B-4 Have the Urban Corps Internes made any impact or caused a change in any part of your agency?

44% Yes 46% No

B-5 Do you think the Urban Corps is a good idea?

96% Yes 0% No

B-6 Do you want Urban Corps Internes at your agency next summer?

95% Yes 2% No

IF YES: Do you want the same type of Internes or a different type?

91% Same 6% Different